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THUCYDIDES

BOOK I.

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THUCYDIDES

BOOK I.

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF CLASSEN'S EDITION

BY

CHARLES D. MORRIS

PROFESSOR IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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PREFACE.

Professor C. D. Morris died at Baltimore, on February 7, 1886, after an illness of ten days. At the time of his death he had revised in print the commentary on the first 124 chapters of this edition of Book I. of Thucydides. But the dates for chapters 89–146, which include the history of the 'pentecontaetia,' had not been inserted, and Professor Morris unfortunately left no complete statement of his views on the chronology of this important period. More than one-half of the critical notes were written, but many of these were in a fragmentary state and needed revision.

The sad duty has devolved upon me of completing and publishing the book which Professor Morris had fortunately so nearly finished. I had previously read proofs of all that was printed before Professor Morris's death, and I had been in constant correspondence with him. I have endeavoured in my independent work on the book to follow with scrupulous care the lines which he laid down. I have thus, with the help of friends, revised the commentary on the last twenty-two chapters, inserted the proper chronological statements for chapters 89–146, revised and completed the critical notes, prepared the bibliographical statement, and compiled the index. The most perplexing part of my task was the establishment of Professor Morris's view of the chronology of the 'pentecontaetia.' I carefully collated his notes on the present book, examined all papers relating to Thucydides which he left behind him, including an able discussion since published in the American Journal of Philology, and, finally, as a last resort, inspected the marginal manuscript notes in the editions

of Thucydides which Professor Morris had himself used. I feel confident that the results of this investigation substantially represent the views which he held. I would here express my obligations for assistance to Professor Gildersleeve, who read the whole of the book in proof; to Mr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Dartmouth College, who verified the index, which was compiled by a friend whom I am not permitted to name; and to Professor Smith, of Vanderbilt University, whose scholarly aid, ungrudgingly given wherever I needed it, has greatly lightened my labours.

I should fail in my duty to Professor Morris if I did not express his obligations to the distinguished German scholar whose valuable edition of Thucydides has been made the basis of the American edition in the College Series of Greek Authors. Professor Morris heartily approved the plan of basing the American edition upon the edition of Classen. This was the approval of a scholar who had himself for years made Thucydides his study, and whose independent utterances were always authoritative. Professor Morris set a high value, as all true scholars must, on the brilliant Thucydidean studies of the venerable man who still, at eighty years of age, serenely follows the lines that he marked out for himself in his early manhood.

But Professor Morris followed in the footsteps of no man slavishly. His mind was naturally critical and independent, and his contributions to this book display at once the acuteness and exactness of his insight into language, and the breadth of his scholarship. An Englishman by birth, and trained in an English University, he came to this country in early life, and here he achieved his reputation. The greatness of the loss that classical studies in America have sustained in his death those will feel most who knew him best.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Jan. 1, 1887.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH we have several ancient biographies of Thucydides,[1] our trustworthy knowledge of the circumstances of his life rests almost exclusively on a few notices casually imparted by himself. Everything else that we are told of him either by his biographers or in the occasional remarks of other writers has the character of uncertain conjecture based upon fragmentary tradition.[2] The more we examine these scanty testimonies, the stronger becomes the impression that Thucydides seldom appeared in person in public life, and that except in a few instances he withdrew from the gaze of the world. We may infer, therefore, that the rhetorical exaggerations of the later biographies have very slight value for us; and only a few definite statements, which present themselves here and there, appear to be derived from trustworthy sources. In the following survey of his life, therefore, we must take as the basis of the narrative only the circumstances reported by himself, and endeavour to combine them into a whole with a cautious use of material coming from other quarters.

Thucydides belonged by birth to a family which by its wealth[3] secured him complete independence, and by its foreign possessions early directed his gaze beyond the borders of Attica to the relations of distant nations. The Attic deme Halimus, on the coast between Phalerum and Colias, in the tribe of Leontis, is mentioned as the place of his birth. He tells us himself (iv. 104. 15) that

[1] One compiled of three distinct portions, passing under the name of Marcellinus — on which see Grauert, Rheinisches Museum, 1827, p. 172 ff., and Fr. Ritter, Rh. Mus. 1845, p. 321, and *id.* on Didymi *Opuscula*, Coloniae, 1845; another by an anonymous grammarian; and a short notice in Suidas *s.v.* Θουκυδίδης.

[2] The epitaph presently to be mentioned is to be excepted, as is rightly remarked by E. Petersen in his careful *Disputatio de vita Thucydidis*, Dorpat, 1873, p. 15.

[3] See his own testimony on this point in iv. 105. § 1, τὸν Θουκυδίδην κτῆσίν τε ἔχειν τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων ἐργασίας ἐν τῇ περὶ ταῦτα Θρᾴκῃ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἠπειρωτῶν.

his father's name was Olorus;[4] and his grave was undoubtedly in the family vault of Cimon, near that of Elpinice, Cimon's sister,[5] as Plutarch evidently saw it himself (*Cim.* c. 4); and we may accordingly assume it as certain that Olorus, the father of Thucydides was a near kinsman of the Thracian prince of that name, whose daughter Hegesipyle was wife of the great Miltiades (Hdt. vi. 39) and mother of Cimon; but the degree of relationship cannot be more nearly defined. It is only Marcellinus (§ 2) who gives to his mother the name of the mother of Cimon, Hegesipyle; while Plutarch makes no such statement where he could hardly have failed to do so, had he been aware of the fact; and we must, therefore, be content with the knowledge that Cimon's grandfather Olorus was an ancestor (*πρόγονος* in Plutarch) — from the similarity of the name we may perhaps infer the grandfather — of the younger Olorus, the father of the historian.[6] That this Olorus was in full possession of Athenian citizenship appears probable from the way in which his son designates himself (iv. 104. 15), *Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου*, for here, where he introduces himself as a *στρατηγός*, it is only as an Athenian citizen that his father could be mentioned in the official style.[7] Cimon no doubt owed his wealth to the possessions of his mother's family on the Thracian coast, which may have been

[4] Marcell., § 16, with a certain assumption of accuracy, asserts that the name was Orolus; but this is not to be regarded against the above authority.

[5] On the position of the sepulchre of this family, see E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, p. 12.

[6] The genealogical table given by O. Müller, *Hist. of the Literature of Greece*, II. p. 117, and by Roscher, *Leben, Werk, und Zeitalter des Thukydides*, p. 90, which derives the historian on the mother's side as well as on the father's from the Thracian prince Olorus, is of very questionable probability. It is more likely that another daughter of King Olorus, a sister of Hegesipyle the wife of Miltiades, married an Athenian citizen, and that Olorus the father of Thucydides was born of this marriage.

Little weight is to be attached to the statement of Marcell., § 18, following Hermippus, and of the Schol. on i. 20. § 2, that Thuc. was of kin to the Pisistratidae; but this is not impossible, since such a connexion might exist through his grandfather on the mother's or father's side. This is the view of Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, IV. chap. 30, p. 36, note (1869). No certain results have been reached in the more recent discussions of the question: Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes*, p. 537 ff.; von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Hermes, 12, p. 339 ff.; Rühl, Jahrbücher, 1878, p. 313 f.

[7] Müller-Strübing, p. 307, regards the addition of the father's name in such cases merely as a courteous recognition of social distinction.

enlarged by the reduction of the neighbouring Thasos (B.C. 463; i. 101. § 3); and so Thucydides by the same relationship came into the possession of his Thracian property, which consisted in gold-mines near Scapte Hyle.[8] The assertion of Marcellinus (§ 19), that he married a rich woman of that region and so became possessed of the gold-mines, can hardly be anything else than an idle guess.

On the whole it seems likely that Thucydides was of near kin to Cimon, and younger by one generation. We may conjecture that as boy and youth he looked up with reverence to his noble kinsman, while he was in the full strength of his manhood and at the height of his renown. If no other information were at hand, we might assume that when Cimon died (B.C. 449) about sixty years of age — greater exactness is not attainable — Thucydides was a young man between twenty and thirty. But as to the time of his birth two statements are made. The one is in Marcellinus (§ 34), of extreme vagueness: (λέγεται) παύσασθαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη μὴ πληρώσαντα τῆς συγγραφῆς τὴν προθεσμίαν. The other is due to Pamphila, who in the time of Nero made a great compilation of the results of learning. A. Gellius (*N. A.* xv. 23) writes as follows: *Hellanicus, Herodotus, Thucydides historiae scriptores in isdem fere temporibus laude ingenti floruerunt, et non nimis longe distantibus fuerunt aetatibus. nam Hellanicus initio belli Peloponnesiaci fuisse quinque et sexaginta annos natus videtur, Herodotus tres et quinquaginta, Thucydides quadraginta. scriptum est hoc in libro undecimo Pamphilae.* Marcellinus's remark is plainly of no use for any certain inference. *How much beyond* fifty years is one to go back to reach the birth-year of Thucydides? It is hardly more than the result of an approximate calculation, that Thucydides, who represents himself (i. 1. § 1; v. 26. 24) as of competent judgment at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and who must have died in any case after the end of it in B.C. 404, must have been born before B.C. 454. One who wrote ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη clearly had himself no accurate knowledge. As to the testimony of Pamphila, Diels indicates the proper way of looking at it in his *Untersuchungen über Apollodors Chronika* (Rhein. Mus. 31, p. 1–54). The dates given are no doubt taken from

[8] See Böckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, p. 418.

Apollodorus, whose chronological handbook had reached among the Greeks and Romans an almost canonical acceptance. He adopted the method usual among Alexandrian scholars of determining the *ἀκμή* or *floruit* of historical personages by reference to any circumstance the date of which was known; and as this *ἀκμή* was regularly assumed to be the 40th year, probably on the basis of Pythagorean doctrines, it was easy from it to deduce the year of birth. The *ἀκμή* of Herodotus was placed by Apollodorus probably at the time of his settlement at Thurii (B.C. 444), and accordingly his birth would be in 484, and his age is given as 53 at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.[9] The *ἀκμή* of Thucydides may have been fixed by Apollodorus on the ground of his own assertion (i. 1. § 1; v. 26. 23) as to the maturity of his judgment at the beginning of the war.[10] Diels therefore is right in saying that these considerations forbid us to regard the dates assigned to Herodotus and Thucydides as based on anything stronger than more or less probable hypothesis. If we cannot, however, find in the testimony of Pamphila any positive basis for inferring the exact year of the birth of Thucydides, it is nevertheless not without importance that in the exposition of his own words we reach the same conclusion as Apollodorus. Thucydides says of himself (v. 26. 23) that he lived through the whole war *αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην ὅπως ἀκριβές τι εἴσεται*, and it is clear that he did not make this remark at the close of the twenty-seven years' war in order to set his readers at rest as to his mental power and his capacity for observation *at that time* — the whole work, with the completion of which he was then engaged, was ample evidence of that,— but to insist upon the circumstance which was much more likely to be called in question, that nearly 30 years before he was possessed of all the qualities requisite for the undertaking of so great a work with a full consciousness of its importance; and so was justified in asserting that he had lived through the whole of

[9] Before we can judge about the case of Hellanicus, we must know with greater certainty what his relation to Herodotus was, and at what time he wrote. Diels and Wilamowitz differ widely.

[10] With this agrees the notice in Suidas: *ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν καὶ ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα* (B.C. 432). See Petersen, p. 12.

it with his power of observation and inquiry at their best. And it is just this clearness of vision and maturity of judgment that Thucydides asserts of himself in the opening words of his history: *ἀρξάμενος (ξυγγράφειν) εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος κτέ.* It is plain that an author could not so write of himself unless he felt that at the time of which he speaks he was able to exercise on important questions an independent judgment founded on experience of life and a wide-reaching survey of the relations of things. Of course it cannot be asserted that for this an age of 40 years is indispensable; but still less can it be denied that such a maturity is in excellent harmony with expressions of this character.[11]

If we adhere to the testimony of Pamphila, which goes back to Apollodorus, that Thucydides was born about B.C. 470, the first forty years of his life, about which we possess no further knowledge, divide themselves into two portions; the period namely in which, mainly under the guidance of Cimon, Athens created her Hegemony externally, during the self-effacement of Sparta; and that in which, under the imperial administration of Pericles, she enjoyed the freest internal development and at the same time took up and cultivated all the elements of the noblest intellectual life.[12] How closely Thucydides stood related to public life,

[11] Stahl (*De Thucydidis vita et scriptis* in the preface to the Tauchn. Edition, p. v) thinks it probable, in view of the writer's own assertions and the circumstances of his life, that he was born about Ol. 79. 1, B.C. 464, and was from thirty to thirty-five years old at the beginning of the war. This is quite possible, but is no more susceptible of proof than any other assumption. Krüger's view, that Thuc. was born in Ol. 80 or 81, is fully developed in his *Untersuchungen*, p. 9–32, and maintained against objections in his *Epikritischer Nachtrag*, p. 8–15. Ullrich, in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thukydides*, p. 128, 129, note 151, maintains that Thuc. at the beginning of the war was between 23 and 28 years old. Müller-Strübing, *Aristoph.* p. 537, thinks he was born about 460; and Wilamowitz, Herm. 12, p. 327, calls the estimate of Apollodorus arbitrary and foolish; but neither gives satisfactory reasons for his opinion.

[12] These are the two periods, each approximately of 20 years' duration, which are distinguished in the funeral oration of Pericles, ii. 36. 6: *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν κτησάμενοι πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον*, and *τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν*. Thucydides was at that time in this *καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία*.

particularly in the second period, during which his self-consciousness must have been fully awake, is a matter on which we have not the slightest information. But in his history we find evidence, that, though his family traditions must have inclined him to a moderate aristocracy, his full love and admiration were given to the intellectual greatness of Pericles. If, as is probable, he did not discharge any public duties under Pericles, he must have followed with his liveliest sympathy the public administration of that great man and have rejoiced in the results accomplished by his creative spirit; certainly he heard from his own lips those speeches of which he has given us imperishable records, and in them trustworthy outlines for forming a true picture of the mind of Pericles. It is, however, a probable conjecture that Thucydides, not only at a later time during his banishment, but also in his earlier life, often passed his time on his Thracian estates, which no doubt frequently required the presence and oversight of the owner for the *ἐργασία τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων*. Only in this way could he gain the high regard among the Thracian dynasts from which Brasidas feared results injurious to his purposes (iv. 105. 2). It seems also very natural that the position of independence, which under these circumstances Thucydides enjoyed also in Athens, may have exerted an important influence on the calmness of spirit and the impartiality of judgment with which he surveyed and described for posterity the relations of the Greek States and the events of his time.

If we try to form a picture of the early training of Thucydides as we may conceive it between Ol. 80 and 82, B.C. 460–450, when we examine the scanty notices which seem at first to promise a fuller knowledge, we find ourselves limited to what we can gather from our acquaintance with the intellectual life in Athens at that epoch. The often repeated story that Thucydides as a boy was present at a recitation by Herodotus at Olympia or elsewhere, and was moved thereby to tears, plainly is of later origin than the time of Lucian, who in his account of the powerful effect produced by Herodotus at Olympia[13] would certainly not have failed to mention this story if he had known it; later too than the better

[13] *Herod.* 1.

portion of the biography of Marcellinus, which also does not notice it. The story is found in Suidas, *s.v.* ὀργᾶν and Θουκυδίδης, in Photius, *Bibl.* n. 60, and in the last part of the biography of Marcellinus, § 54; though only Suidas mentions Olympia as the scene of it. All are derived from one and the same confused statement, the chief purpose of which was to retain in remembrance the unusual expression in the assumed exclamation of Herodotus, ὦ Ὄλορε, ὀργᾷ ἡ φύσις τοῦ υἱοῦ σου (or ὀργῶσαν ἔχει τὴν ψυχήν, τὴν φύσιν) πρὸς μαθήματα. Even if we pay no regard to the chronological difficulties, which cannot be surmounted unless we give up the testimony of Pamphila, it cannot be said that Krüger (*Untersuchungen*, p. 30 ff.) has succeeded in giving credibility to a story so late and so ill-attested. The recitation of Herodotus at Olympia with all its embellishments in Lucian Dahlmann[14] is no doubt right in regarding as a fiction. If Herodotus recited portions of his work at Athens, the most probable date is that furnished by Eusebius,[15] Ol. 83. 3, B.C. 446; and that Thucydides may have been among his listeners — yet not as a boy of 10 years but as a young man of between 20 and 30 years — is very credible. He may have then received an abiding impression that an engaging narrative of entertaining events may be well enough adapted for a single recitation before an assembled crowd, but not so a strict historical representation, which is based on painstaking inquiry; and this may explain his somewhat bitter assertion, i. 21. 4, ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, and gives fuller meaning to the famous contrast of his own history as a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί to an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν (i. 22. 19).

Whether the statement of Marcellinus, § 22, that Thucydides studied philosophy with Anaxagoras and rhetoric with Antiphon, rests upon authentic grounds, is of little importance for us; these two men are so decidedly representatives of the new spirit, which in both these departments made its way into Athens in their time

[14] *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, II. 1, p. 12 ff.

[15] *Herodotus, quum libros suos Athenis legisset, honore affectus est.* Kirchhoff, *Entstehungszeit des Herodoteischen Geschichtwerks*, p. 10, regards this recitation at Athens as one of the best-attested points in the life of Herodotus.

and exercised a powerful influence on all who had any share of culture, that we should be forced to assume for Thucydides a relation of this sort, even if there were no testimony for it. Both lived at a time quite compatible with this assumption. Anaxagoras, who was probably born in Ol. 70, about 500 B.C.,[16] sojourned permanently in Athens between 470 and 450 B.C., and lived on terms of intimacy with Pericles: Antiphon, born about 485 B.C., and therefore some 10 years older than Thucydides, must have stood before his eyes as the pattern of manly and energetic expression[17] and may have been in nearer personal relations with him; and accordingly the historian in the terms in which he describes the character of Antiphon (viii. 68. 5) has left a testimony to his merits in which personal affection is unmistakable. An influence on the training of Thucydides of a similar character may be presumed to have been exercised also by the Sophists Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias, who from the middle of the fifth century exerted themselves for a longer or shorter time in Athens to spread abroad, by formal instruction and by lectures, that adroitness of thought and speech which they had acquired by manifold study and practice. We are told by Marcellinus,[18] and it is in itself sufficiently credible, that Thucydides appropriated and employed for his own style many of the results of the close attention which these men paid to the forms of speech and their relation to thought. Philostratus[19] too says expressly that he borrowed *τὸ μεγαλόγνωμον καὶ τὴν ὀφρῦν* from Gorgias, who no doubt visited Athens before the famous embassy of 427 B.C.;[20] and Spengel[21] proves by many particular instances the influence exerted on the language of Thucydides by the theories of Prodicus on synonymy. We must remember, besides, that the Athens in which Thucydides passed his boyhood and youth was full of the noblest efforts and most glorious products of poetry, sculpture, and architecture; that

[16] See Brandis, *Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Philosophie*, I. p. 233.

[17] See Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, II. p. 569.

[18] § 36, *ἐζήλωσε ἐπ' ὀλίγον καὶ τὰς Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου παρισώσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων . . . καὶ μέντοι καὶ Προδίκου τοῦ Κείου τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀκριβολογίαν.*

[19] *Epist.* 13, p. 919.

[20] See Foss, *De Gorgia Leontino*, p. 23 ff.; Marcell. § 36, 51, *τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου μιμούμενος.*

[21] *Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*, p. 53 ff.

he must have seen the aged Aeschylus before his departure to Sicily, have been acquainted with Sophocles and Euripides in the highest maturity of their artistic activity, and have seen Phidias and his disciples creating their immortal works before his eyes. When we recollect these things and consider besides what has been said about his relation to the great statesmen of that time, we may form a tolerably complete conception of the influences which worked upon his mental development. There can be no doubt that he expresses his own love and admiration for these intellectual blessings in the delineation of Attic culture and Attic genius which is found in the funeral oration of Pericles, especially in ii. 38 and 40. In the joyous recognition of the *πλεῖσται ἀναπαῦλαι τῶν πόνων* to be found in the *ἀγῶσι καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις* we may perceive his delight in the splendour and brilliancy of the Attic stage and the panathenaic processions; and in the charge (ii. 43. 7) *τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεᾶσθαι καὶ ἐραστὰς γίγνεσθαι αὐτῆς* we can recognize his pride not merely in the well-equipped warlike power of Athens but also in the glorious buildings of the Acropolis, which daily looked down on the citizens. We may conceive, then, that all the means of cultivation which the Athens of Pericles offered, as no other spot in the world has ever offered them within the same limits, and intercourse with men of eminence in all directions, combined to excite and forward the intellectual development of Thucydides up to the maturity of his manhood.

But the question still remains whether and to what extent he took an active part in the public life of his native city in peace or war. As an answer to it we cannot be satisfied with the statement of Marcellinus, § 23, *οὐκ ἐπολιτεύσατο ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὐδὲ προσῆλθε τῷ βήματι*, or with the assertion of Dionysius, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.*, 3. 9, p. 770, *ἐν πρώτοις ἦγον (αὐτὸν) Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγιῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν ἀξιοῦντες*. All precise knowledge of his early life is wanting; but while on the one hand we cannot doubt that, if Thucydides had taken any prominent part in public affairs, we should have learned the fact either from himself or from some other source, and while it is not at all improbable that his Thracian interests often kept him at a distance from Athens; still on the other hand it is certain that he must have recommended himself

to his fellow-citizens by some manifestation of capacity before B.C. 424, since he was then elected one of the 10 Strategi. The inference of K. F. Hermann (Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1847, p. 1383) from the minuteness of the narrative of the expedition of Myronides against Megara (i. 105. § 5, 6), that Thucydides may have been personally concerned in it, is to be rejected on chronological grounds. For he could not then (B.C. 460) have been more than 11 years old, even assuming the earliest date, B.C. 471, which is assigned as the year of his birth.

We shall not be very far from the truth if we conceive the life of Thucydides, till the occurrence of those events which directed the whole power of his mind to a new task, to have been passed more in the pursuit of private interests than of the career of a statesman, whatever may have been the sympathy with which he observed public events. But the relations in which he was placed must have been eminently calculated to keep his attention alert in all directions and to make him susceptible to the influences of a rich and energetic life. In this way he gained that maturity of mind with which, as he tells us himself, he recognized from the very beginning the importance of the momentous war and devoted himself with unintermitting interest and attention to the observation of its course.[22]

Twice in the course of the war events occurred which give him occasion to mention himself. In ii. 48. 15 he introduces his precise and vivid description of the plague at Athens with the words *ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας*. He must therefore have been at Athens during that fearful visitation, B.C. 430–29, and his account is derived from his own experience and observation.

In the eighth year of the war, B.C. 424, when he was 48 years old, he was, as he tells us iv. 104. 15, charged as *στρατηγός* with the care of the Thracian coast (*ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*), when

[22] i. 1. 3, *ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον κτέ.* He asserts the same clear prevision of Pericles, ii. 65. 22, *ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Cf.* v. 26, § 5, *αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβές τι εἴσομαι*, which words, taken in connexion with *ἐπεβίων διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ*, show that during the whole course of the war he made careful observation a matter of duty.

Brasidas was threatening Amphipolis, the most important possession of Athens in those parts. In the late autumn of B.C. 424 he lay with seven triremes in the harbour of Thasos, and at the first summons of his colleague Eucles, who was in command at Amphipolis, hastened to his aid. But the town had surrendered before Thucydides could reach it. The town of Eïon, however, at the mouth of the Strymon, which he reached the same evening, he occupied in good time, and made his preparations so skillfully that the assault made by Brasidas by land as well as by water was successfully resisted (iv. 107. § 2).

The results for himself personally which followed this misfortune Thucydides reports with the same reserve with which he excludes from his narrative everything which does not belong to the course of the war; mentioning them not at this place but only casually in v. 26. § 5, in order to found thereon a remark important for the character of his history. As in that passage by the words *ἐπεβίων . . . εἴσομαι* he asserts from one point of view his competence as the historian of the Peloponnesian war, so, in order to show the advantage he possessed in wide local knowledge and personal observation of the matters in hand, he adds the statement: *καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι μᾶλλον αἴσθεσθαι.* It is certain from this passage that Thucydides, in consequence of his failure to save Amphipolis, had to leave his country for 20 years, and that he employed a portion of this time in visiting the scenes of the war on both sides, particularly in the territory of the Peloponnesians. Everything else, however, which passes beyond this distinct testimony of Thucydides, rests on conjecture; it is probable, though it cannot be proved, that Cleon, who was then at the height of his influence, caused the adoption of the decree for the banishment of Thucydides;[23] it is possible also that the charge brought against him may have been *προδοσία*, as is asserted by Marcellinus, § 55, and the anonymous

[23] This is indicated by Marcell. § 46. Grote, VI. chap. 53, p. 191 (1870), is of the same opinion. See also Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, III. p. 184 and 589. The opposing judgment of Oncken (*Athen und Hellas*, II. p. 228 ff.) is discussed in the App. on iv. 106. 17.

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ruling faction, to which Oenobius, otherwise unknown, must ve belonged. His own statement that his exile lasted twenty ars, since it must be reckoned from the end of B.C. 424, leads to the last months of 404 for the time of his recall. This took ace, accordingly, before the Thirty, after the destruction of her amenes, gave themselves up to insolent and wanton violence, a time when the forms of a legal government, and therefore that f recalling by a psephisma, were still observed.[27]

The most important fact, however, which we learn from Thucydides himself about his exile, and which he wished his readers pecially to note for the appreciation of his merit as an historian, s this: that, having from the beginning of the war a clear insight nto its importance, in order to attain the most accurate knowledge, he availed himself of every opportunity of personal observation and inspection during those twenty years, which brought with them the most important and decisive actions. His course in this respect, as he himself describes it in general terms in i. 22. § 2 (*τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων . . . περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών*), the combination of careful inquiry from trustworthy witnesses with the results of his own knowledge, gains a clearer light from the statement in v. 26. § 5. He used the period of his banishment to inspect in person the scene of events, and took special pains (*οὐχ ἧσσον*) to visit the Peloponnesian lands which would otherwise have been closed to him; and the result of his exertions was, *καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθεσθαι*, that he attained a clearer insight into the facts by being in repose, *i.e.* remote not only from the party strifes of Athens, but also from the excitement which

[27] There is no reason in the account of Thuc. for placing the affair of Amphipolis later than towards the end of 424, since it happened at about the same time (iv. 102. § 1) as the battle of Delium, and this took place *τοῦ χειμῶνος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου* (iv. 89. 1). Krüger (*Untersuchungen über das Leben des Thukydides*, p. 52) places it in the beginning of 423, and Ullrich (*Beitr.* p. 136, note 159) makes Thuc. go into banishment in the first half of 423, and (p. 148, note 168) not return till after the end of the Athenian disorders, *i.e.* after October, 403. The above assumption, which places his return nearly a year earlier, is in exact harmony with his own mention of an exile of 20 years, and is, as explained, quite consistent with the *ψήφισμα ἐνίκησεν* of Pausanias.

would probably prevail during or immediately after occurrences on the spot where they took place.

In this way, from the scanty notices Thucydides himself has given us of his personal relation to the history, we gain a view of his aim and method. In mature manhood, — so the most probable testimony leads us to believe; — in possession of external advantages which secured him a position of independence and rendered easy for him an unprejudiced observation and judgment of public affairs and the persons engaged in them; penetrated by all the influences of the intellectual culture which made Athens at that time the παίδευσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος; filled with the conviction that only by the ascendency of truly great statesmen and by the moderation and docility of the citizens could his mother-city, to which he was devoted with love and admiration, be maintained on her eminence; he understood from the very beginning the task of writing the history of this war, and at once commenced his preparations for it.

The first seven years of the war, excepting that time which he necessarily devoted to the management of his Thracian property, the ἐργασία τῶν μετάλλων, he spent beyond doubt in Athens; and there can be no question that he stood in near connexion with the leading statesmen, and was present at the deliberations and decisions of the public assemblies. The speeches of Pericles which he has given us in outline, and the imperishable testimony he has left (ii. 65) of the activity of that great statesman, reflect the vivid impression made on the mind of the historian by that mighty personality; and there can be no doubt that at a later time he was present as an eye-witness at the discussions about Mitylene (iii. 36–49) and about Pylos (iv. 16 ff.); and in all probability he took part in one or more of the expeditions which preceded his own στρατηγία, perhaps in the naval operations of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf (ii. 80–92), or the movements of Demosthenes in Aetolia and Acarnania (iii. 94 ff.). The statesmen, too, who succeeded Pericles, though they failed to replace him, Nicias, Cleon, Demosthenes, he has succeeded in placing before our eyes in clear outlines. And the young Alcibiades (born B.C. 451), with the brilliancy and haughtiness of his ambitious character, must have early attracted his attention, so vividly does he place him before us in

his later speeches and actions. On the other hand, the twenty years which followed the unfortunate result of his *στρατηγία* in B.C. 424, were probably passed by Thucydides, so far as the circumstances of the war allowed, mainly on his Thracian property, except at such times as travelling was required by his investigations. It is not likely that the change of control, by which in B.C. 412 (viii. 64) the island of Thasos and the neighbouring coast also probably passed into the possession of the Lacedaemonians and was at a later time (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 9) recovered by Thrasybulus for the Athenians, interfered at all with his residence there. We are told by Plutarch,[28] and the compiler of the biography of Marcellinus says in two places,[29] that Thucydides wrote his work on his estate in Thrace. This may rest only on conjecture; but it is a conjecture which would be naturally formed by every reader acquainted with the circumstances. We can hardly doubt that it was here mainly that he carried out the work so early undertaken and prosecuted so uninterruptedly; and this not only by the working up of his accumulated materials, but also by the journeys which he undertook from thence for the purpose of closer inquiry into the scenes and the events of the war. We may assume with certainty that he visited not only the various parts of Greece which the war had rendered notable, but also the islands, as well as Italy and Sicily.[30] Besides his own testimony couched in general terms (*γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων*), we have as evidence the vividness of his delineations of the most important events; and the surprising notice, adduced by Marcellinus, § 25, from Timaeus, that after his banishment he lived in Italy (*ὡς φυγὼν ᾤκησεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*), which in § 33 goes further and asserts his burial there (*ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτὸν κεῖσθαι*), is explained most naturally by the assumption that Thucydides made a long stay in those parts.

[28] *De exil.* 14: *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Θράκῃ περὶ τὴν Σκαπτὴν Ὕλην. Cf.* i. 1. 1.

[29] § 25: *διατρίβων ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὕλῃ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ ἔγραφεν.* § 47: *ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν ἐξορίαν ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὕλῃ τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρίῳ διαιτώμενος συνέταξε μὲ-τὰ κάλλους ἃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μόνον ἐσημειοῦτο διὰ τὴν μνήμην.*

[30] That Thuc. on the occasion of such visits availed himself of native sources of information is shown by E. Wölfflin, *Antiochus von Syrakus und Coelius Antipater*, Winterthur, 1872. See the App. on vi. 2–5.

Unfortunately, we cannot gain any clear insight into the gradual growth and completion of this incomparable work. The reason of this is, in part at least, the fact that it was not brought to an end by its author. The history suddenly breaks off in the midst of the most exciting events of the Ionic-Decelean war. The most natural conjecture as to the reason of this, that the author was called away from his work by a sudden death, is confirmed by trustworthy evidence. Plutarch says that it was commonly reported that he died a violent death in Scapte Hyle.[31] Pausanias tells us that he was treacherously murdered on his journey home from exile, and that his tomb was to be seen at Athens not far from the Melitid gate.[32] Marcellinus,[33] however, was aware of two different reports: one, which was plainly the most general and is referred to Zopyrus and Cratippus,[34] that Thucydides died in Thrace;[35] the other, for which Didymus is the authority, and which Marcellinus himself adopts, that after his return from exile he died and was buried in Athens. The anonymous biographer leaves the place of his death undefined, saying, "after his death he was buried in Athens, near the Melitid gate, . . . whether it was that he himself after the expiration of the term of his exile returned to Athens and there died, or that only his bones were brought from Thrace after his death there; for both accounts are given."[36] When we

[31] *Cim.* 4. 3: *τελευτῆσαι ἐν τῇ Σκαπτῇ Ὕλῃ λέγεται φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ.*

[32] See above, note 25.

[33] § 31–34.

[34] Cratippus is made by Dion. Hal., *De Thuc. iud.* 16, a contemporary of Thucydides. That this is a gross mistake is shown by R. Schöll, Hermes, 13, p. 446. Both writers belong to a much later period and are of slight authority.

[35] In the confused statement of Marcellinus we must adhere to his last unmistakable words: *ἐγὼ δὲ Ζώπυρον ληρεῖν νομίζω λέγοντα τοῦτον ἐν Θράκῃ τετελευτηκέναι, κἂν ἀληθεύειν νομίζῃ Κράτιππος αὐτόν.* Unless in the previous mention of Zopyrus there is some mistake, the words *τοῦτο δέ φησι [Δίδυμος] Ζώπυρον ἱστορεῖν* must refer only to *βιαίῳ θανάτῳ* of the preceding clause. For the statement *ἐν Ἀθήναις* cannot possibly be ascribed to Zopyrus, whose *τοῦτον ἐν Θράκῃ τετελευτηκέναι* Marcell. denies so energetically. This is the view of Gilbert, Philol. 1879, p. 263.

[36] § 10: *τελευτήσας δ' ἐν Ἀθήνησιν ἐτάφη πλησίον τῶν Μελιτίδων πυλῶν ἐν χωρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὃ προσαγορεύεται Κοίλη, εἴτε αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν Ἀθήναζε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος χρόνου πληρωθέντος, καὶ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι, εἴτε μετακομισθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀστέων ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐκεῖ καταστρέψαντος τὸν βίον· λέγεται γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα.*

examine these statements closely, we see that the assumption that Thucydides died at Athens rests only on the well-attested fact of his tomb being found there with an often-quoted inscription. For as his death in a foreign land would naturally be connected with his continued exile, so an honorable burial in Athens would seem to imply that he died there. Pausanias, in order evidently to reconcile the apparent contradiction of his death abroad with his well-known tomb in Attica, devised the harmonizing story that he perished on his homeward journey, for only this can be the meaning of ὡς κατῆει.[87] This solution, however, cannot be accepted; for Thucydides himself speaks so definitely of the end of his banishment — ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι, which could have been written only after it was over — and he refers so often, and particularly in v. 25 and 26, to the conclusion of the whole war, that he must have lived a considerable time after this, and therefore after his recall, which was subsequent to it; and accordingly we must seek for some other way of explaining the apparent contradiction in the accounts we have. The facts may have been as follows: Thucydides returned in the autumn of B.C. 404 to Athens, six months after the city had surrendered to Lysander. He himself indicates in i. 93. § 5 that the walls round the Piraeus lay in ruins, in accordance with the harsh terms of the peace. He can hardly, however, have remained there long, under the increasing severity of the rule of the Thirty; and he may probably have sought again the peace and repose of his Thracian estate, where he had so long been engaged in the preparation of the material he had collected for the history of the war. Though it is probable that large portions of his work, particularly such as were prominent and almost independent parts of the larger whole, — *e.g.* the war of the first ten years to the peace of Nicias, and the expedition to Sicily, — were composed and written down before, still, from the even character and unbroken connexion of the eight books as we have them, it seems likely that Thucydides gave the whole its present form in a long period of repose after the end of the war, which a resi-

[87] That these words (see note 25) can have a plpf. meaning, *after he had returned home*, as Schöne, Jahresbericht, 1874, p. 820, asserts, cannot be conceded until a corresponding example is produced.

dence in enslaved Athens was little calculated to offer. A sudden death overtook him while thus engaged.

How long a time was granted him for the final revision cannot be defined with exactness; but a reasonable inference allows us to fix the year 396 B.C. as the extreme limit of his life. In iii. 116. § 2, Thucydides tells us, no doubt after a careful inquiry into the facts, that the eruption of Aetna which took place in the spring of B.C. 425 was the third on record.[38] Accordingly the one which occurred in B.C. 396 (Diod. xiv. 59. 3) could not have been known to him; for as he had given attention to the subject, it is hardly likely that he could have remained in ignorance of it. We may, therefore, conceive that his life extended to about this date, *i.e.* to his 75th year.[39] We get in this way a period of from six to seven years during which we may imagine that the old man, with that repose and clearness which a powerful spirit obtains from many-sided culture in youth and the experience of good and evil fortune in maturity, was devoted to his great undertaking and engaged in combining the materials he had collected into one completed whole, which with reasonable self-consciousness he designates a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. It is very possible that during these last years Thucydides may have undertaken other journeys and

[38] Thuc. mentions one as having occurred 50 years before this date, and a third which evidently happened at an earlier period. See Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Erkl.* p. 92. — A second indication of the year of Thucydides' death would be given by iv. 74. 17, where, after the account of the oligarchical revolution in Megara, he says: πλεῖστον δὴ χρόνον αὕτη . . . μετάστασις ξυνέμεινεν, if we only knew the time at which the democratical party again got the upper hand; for it is clear that the words of Thuc. point to this. From Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 41, and Diod. xv. 40. 4, no sure conclusion can be gained. — It is an ingenious remark of Ullrich, *Die Hellenischen Kriege*, p. 16, note, that the remark of Thuc., viii. 68. 14, about Antiphon: ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ . . . θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος, may contain an allusion to the apology of Socrates. If this is the case, the passage must have been written after B.C. 399, which agrees well with the above assumption. The reason which induces Letronne (p. lxvi. of the Didot edition) to place the death of Thuc. before 402, will be mentioned below.

[39] Dahlmann, *Forschungen*, II. p. 125, notices the long-enduring productivity of the Greeks in intellectual work under favourable circumstances. Tacitus also had passed his 40th year before he began the *Historiae*, his first large work, and it was more than 20 years before he completed the *Annals*.

have more than once revisited Athens; but it is most natural to suppose that he carried on his proper work in the quietness of his Thracian estate.[40] With this, too, best agrees the statement that he met a violent death by assassination, which is made by Plutarch, Pausanias, and Marcellinus, in reliance on early authorities.[41] An event of the kind in Athens is hard to conceive, and could scarcely have remained without attestation. On the contrary, an attack by robbers on a lonely and wealthy residence on the Thracian coast is easily credible; and thus also is explained the variation in the accounts as regards the place; distance sufficiently accounts for the conflicting opinions of those not immediately interested.[42] But if Thucydides, as is very probable, was slain in Scapte Hyle by the hand of a robber, the second alternative of the anonymous biographer[43] is to be accepted, that his bones were conveyed to Athens and laid in the sepulchre of Cimon, where Plutarch saw his tomb, whether the inscription he quotes be genuine or not: *Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἁλιμούσιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται.* The difficulty raised by Didymus as to the unauthorized burial of a banished person in his native soil disappears on the hypothesis above given. On the other hand, the suddenness of a death by assassination explains fully the condition in which his history remains to us; the thread of the narrative is broken off before the end of the twenty-first year of the war, in the midst of an account of a subordinate circumstance. The way in which the incomplete work was preserved and became known will be discussed later.[44]

[40] His acquaintance with local peculiarities on the Thracian coast in the later period of his life is shown by iv. 103. 18, where he mentions a change in the fortification of Amphipolis since the time of Brasidas.

[41] Paus. *δολοφονηθείς*, Plut. *φονευθείς*, Marc. § 32, *ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ, βίᾳ.*

[42] The conjecture, by which Seidler (see Krüger, *Unterss.* p. 58) reconciles with the above view the notice in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παρπάρων (Παρπάρων, *χώρα ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Αἰολική, ἔνθα ἱστοροῦσι Θουκυδίδην ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικῶν δευτέρῳ· τινὲς δὲ Περίνην τοῦτο καλοῦσιν*), is not improbable: that Perne in the neighbourhood of Scapte Hyle was confused with Perine, opposite Lesbos, which was called also Perperene and Parparon.

[43] See note 36.

[44] A corrupt passage in Marcellinus, § 29, 30, has been discussed by von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in Hermes, 12, p. 326–367, and in review of this article by Hirzel, Hermes, 13, p. 46–49, by Schöll, p. 433–451, and by O. Gilbert, Philol. 38, p. 243 ff. The

[Classen at this point proceeds to discuss at length the theory of F. W. Ullrich as to the composition of the history of Thucydides which was put forth in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thukydides*, Hamburg, 1845. This theory may be thus stated nearly in Ullrich's words: Thucydides regarded the first ten years of continuous war as terminated by the Peace of Nicias; and accordingly after the conclusion of that peace began to compose the history of this war, which by itself was sufficiently remarkable: beginning with the preface of the first book, he wrote this book, the second, the third, and the first half of the fourth in exile, before he could have had knowledge of the later war: then, towards the middle of the fourth book,[45] being overtaken by the march of events, when the war between Athens and Sparta began again before Syracuse, and was afterwards in the Decelean and Ionian war carried on more actively than before through the participation of all the Hellenes including even the Argives and the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, he discontinued his work in order to await the result of this second war: while these events, however, were taking place, he was constantly making preparations for the continuation of his work by collecting information about facts and by prosecuting inquiries; and after a break of from ten to eleven years, *i.e.* from the beginning of the Decelean war to his return to Athens, he took up again the thread of his narrative. With this view is connected the conjecture that, as Thucydides completed the first three books and half the fourth after his banishment and during the Peace of Nicias, *i.e.* in about eight years, so the composition of the second portion, which he did not

passage in question is asserted and denied to contain evidence that Thucydides was in intimate relations with certain poets at the court of Archelaus at Pella, and may, therefore, have died and been buried in Macedonia. But as no plausible emendation is suggested, and opinions so divergent are based upon the passage as it stands, the only legitimate conclusion is that we can infer from it nothing either positively or negatively as to the relation of Thuc. to the Macedonian king.

[45] Ullrich regards the words in iv. 48. 24, *ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε*, as inserted by Thuc. after he had become aware that the war had not been really ended by the Peace of Nicias; and they therefore indicate, as he thinks, the turning-point from the first to the second aspect of the war, and are accordingly in a certain sense the middle point of the work.

begin till after the conclusion of the whole war, may have required about as much more time. This will accord very well with the assumption made that B.C. 396 must be regarded as the extreme limit of his life.

Ullrich argues that, on the assumption that Thucydides did not begin the final redaction of his work until the end of the twenty-seven-years' war, the whole of it must have been written with the consciousness of the final result, and could not therefore contain any statements which are incompatible with this assumption. Such statements are however, according to Ullrich, discoverable in the former part of the history (as far as v. 26) and not in the latter; and he infers, therefore, that the former half must have been written substantially as we have it between the end of the ten-years' war and the Sicilian expedition. He admits, indeed, that these earlier books contain certain passages which imply a knowledge of the whole war, but regards them as later insertions made by Thucydides himself in the work he had already substantially completed.

The passages which Ullrich cites, as having been penned by a writer who could not have known the final issue of the war, are the following: i. 10. § 2; 23. § 1–3; ii. 1. § 1; 8. 1; 34. 20; 54. § 3; 57. 7; iii. 86. § 2; 87. 5; iv. 48. § 5. All of these are fully discussed by Classen, and it is shown by him at the least that they come very far short of supporting the inference which Ullrich deduces from them. The whole question is discussed with great lucidity and fairness by A. Schöne, in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, Vol. III. p. 823–848. He is inclined on general grounds of probability to adopt Ullrich's opinion as to the actual mode of composition of the history; but of the passages above referred to he finds only one (iii. 87. 5) which favours decidedly, and another (i. 23. § 1–3) which favours partially the conclusion Ullrich bases upon them. Under these circumstances it does not seem worth while to reproduce in this edition the lengthy discussion which Classen devotes to the question. In giving his adhesion in the main to the view of Ullrich rather than to that of Classen, which will be stated immediately, Schöne is influenced to a great degree by the consideration (p. 844) that it is improbable that Thucydides, though he might have anticipated with a high

degree of assurance the failure of the Peace of Nicias and a renewal of the war, would have allowed this six-years' period of comparative quiet to pass without availing himself of it to work up the materials he had already collected for the history of the ten-years' or Archidamian war. But Classen nowhere asserts or implies any such neglect of opportunity on the part of the historian. Though he believes that the work as it has come down to us took its final form from the hand of the writer after the conclusion of the whole war, he admits to the fullest extent the probability that portions of it had been worked up into substantially their present shape at an earlier period. Such portions may in all likelihood have been those which most readily admitted of treatment as wholes, *e.g.* the Archidamian war and the Sicilian expedition.

In the introduction to the fifth book, where it was necessary to make clear the connexion and the special character of it, Classen expresses the following opinion (p. 3): "Though I am convinced that the whole work was written in the shape in which we have it after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, and that Thucydides was called away from life when engaged in the last revision and combination of the portions which he had noted down and sketched in outline from the beginning of the war, yet I do not believe that all parts of the work received an equally thorough review. I think that the masterly introduction, which makes our first book, was first completed with the full knowledge of the disastrous result of the twenty-seven-years' war; that then the history of the ten-years' war, and the Sicilian expedition, for which it is likely that the results of laborious inquiry were already at hand more or less perfectly worked out, received their final touches; and that after this, before the thread of the narrative was taken up again with the Ionic-Decelean war, the intervening period of the εἰρήνη ὕπουλος was described."

This opinion as to the mode of the composition of the work of Thucydides rests on two simple propositions. (1) Thucydides followed the course of the Peloponnesian war from its beginning to its close with minute attention, and committed to writing with more or less completeness notes of all its circumstances, particularly of the Archidamian war and the Sicilian expedition, which

were in themselves relatively distinct wholes. (2) After the close of the whole war and his recall from banishment, he took in hand the composition of the whole history of the war with a clear view of the relation of its several parts; composed the first book as a general introduction to his work; and combined into an organic whole the material already collected and partially reduced to formal shape, continuing his narrative to the first year of the Ionian war, at which point in his labours his life came to an end. Classen's view as above stated agrees in the main with that of Krüger, *Unterss.* p. 74, and *Epikrit. Nachtr.* p. 37.

It may be worth while to give here a list of the chief publications on this question which have been issued within the last few years.

The following writers adopt the Ullrichian hypothesis with more or less variation in detail.

L. Cwiklinski: *Quaestiones de tempore* etc. Diss. inaug. Gnesnae, 1873; also an article in Hermes, 12, p. 23–87.

P. Leske: *Ueber die verschiedene Abfassungszeit* etc. Liegnitz, 1875.

J. Helmbold: *Ueber die successive Entstehung* etc. Colmar, 1876.

F. Vollheim: *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte* etc. Eisleben, 1878.

J. Steup: *Quaestiones Thucydideae.* Bonnae, 1868.

Müller-Strübing: *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik* (p. 529 ff.). Leipzig, 1873.

Glogau: *Die Entdeckungen des Thukydides.* Neumark, 1876.

The following are in substantial agreement with Classen.

Ἀ. Κυπριανός, Περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Θουκυδίδου, in Φιλίστωρ, Athens, 1862, p. 193–210; 1863, p. 1–19.

J. J. Welti, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit* etc. Winterthur, 1869.

J. M. Stahl: in the preface to the B. Tauchnitz edition of Thucydides, p. v. ff.

H. Steinberg: in the Philologische Anzeiger, 6, p. 20 ff.

L. Herbst: in Philologus, 38, p. 535 ff.

The last-mentioned article examines with great minuteness the use of ὁ πόλεμος with and without a demonstrative pronoun; and shows that in all the passages where ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε occurs in books ii. to v. 24 inclusive the ten-years' war is referred to, though in many places a knowledge of the whole war is evidently implied;

whereas in book i. ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε does not occur at all; but ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος (11 times) and ὁ πόλεμος with οὗτος (twice) refer to the war the writer is going to describe in opposition to other wars and without thought of its duration; and the same is true of the later books where ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος occurs. In the later books, vi., vii., viii., ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε refers to the then existing war; whereas ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος occurs only three times and evidently with the same implication as before. It is also noted that in book v. (39. 19; 51. 11; 56. 20; 81. 11; 83. 22) in the designation of the successive years of the ὕπατος ἀνοκωχή the demonstrative pronoun is omitted as well as the usual mention of the writer; whereas in vi. 7. 25 the full formula occurs again. Herbst, therefore, agrees so far with Ullrich as to admit that Thucydides regarded the Archidamian (δεκαετής) war as a unit; but argues convincingly that the whole history took its present form after the conclusion of the whole war.]

The extraordinary significance of the history of Thucydides may be recognized in its effects. The picture he has drawn for us of a period of history so important and so rich in consequences, with its incomparable vividness in the delineation of events and of characters, is secure of its place for all time in the memory of mankind, and not only surpasses in its life-like truthfulness all other historical narratives of antiquity, but is outdone by the work of no modern historian. We become the more sensible of this if we compare our knowledge of the period Thucydides has described with that we possess of the times immediately preceding or following, or if we endeavour to leave out of our conception of the characters he has depicted the traces which are due to him, and to realize Pericles and Cleon, Nicias and Alcibiades, from the writings of Xenophon, Plutarch, and Diodorus.[46]

[46] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, II. p. 34. "The Peloponnesian war is the most immortal of all wars, because it found the greatest historian that ever lived. Thucydides has attained the highest possible point in historical writing, not only as to precise trustworthiness in narration but as to vividness of delineation." O. Müller, *Hist. of the Lit. of Greece*, II. p. 125. "We may question whether there is any period in the history of mankind which stands before our eyes with so much clearness as the first twenty-one years of the Peloponnesian war through the work of Thucydides."

We possess no distinct evidence that the exceeding merit of Thucydides was adequately recognized in his own time or in that immediately succeeding. Neither by the orators whose works we have, nor in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, is any mention made of him. The judgment of Theophrastus, which Cicero[47] has preserved for us, is only of a general character, and hardly answers to our own high estimate. But out of this silence of earlier antiquity there comes to us, only the more welcome and important, the single notice, that the orator Demosthenes copied the books of Thucydides eight times with his own hand.[48] It was his own kindred spirit which attracted him above all to the essential truthfulness of the great historian.[49] The pre-eminent effect of his work, however, is shown by the fact that a series of successors, Xenophon, Cratippus, Theopompus, essayed to continue it, but no one ventured to take up again the material handled by him or to throw it into a different form; until, when a later time called for a general review or instructive entertainment, men fastened upon Thucydides, though often with deficient judgment and insight, as the most trustworthy source for the period treated by him. Among the Romans the masterly character of his work was thoroughly recognized, in spite of the difficulty caused by his language and style; his statesmanlike insight attracted them and excited their admiration. Sallust exhibits the clearest proofs of conscious imitation; Cornelius Nepos follows by preference his testimony; and Cicero studied him persistently and closely;[50] Quintilian expresses in few words an excellent judgment about him as regards his style.[51]

The grammarians and critics of the Alexandrian school knew

[47] *Orat.* 12. 39: *primis ab his (Herodoto et Thucydide), ut ait Theophrastus, historia commota est, ut auderet uberius quam superiores et ornatius dicere.*

[48] Lucian, *Adv. indoct.* 4: *τὰ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ αὐτὰ ὀκτάκις μεταγεγραμμένα εὑρέθη καλῶς.* See A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I. p. 283.

[49] Dion. Hal. *De Thuc. iud.* 53. 1: *ῥητόρων Δημοσθένης μόνος, ὅσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι μέγα τι καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔδοξαν ποιεῖν ἐν λόγοις, οὕτω καὶ Θουκυδίδου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατὰ πολλά.*

[50] The chief passages relating to Thucydides are: *De orat.* ii. 13. 56; 22. 93; *Brut.* 11. 43; 12. 47; 17. 66; 83. 287, 288; *Orat.* 9. 30, 31; 12. 39; 44. 151; 65. 219; 71. 234.

[51] x. 1. 73: *densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides.*

how to rate his value; especially did they recognize his work as one of the models of Attic speech;[52] and to their careful treatment we are indebted for the relatively excellent preservation of it in numerous copies, as well as for the diligent observation of his style, which is everywhere to be seen in later lexicographical writings. On the other hand, the scholastic rhetoric of the later age, as it was practised and brought into currency by learned Greeks particularly at Rome, was ill-adapted to comprehend and appreciate the most peculiar characteristics of Thucydides, his complete self-surrender to his subject and the determination of the form only by the nature of the matter. From the most important representative of this tendency, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, we possess two treatises (*περὶ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου χαρακτῆρος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ συγγραφέως ἰδιωμάτων* and *περὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου ἰδιωμάτων*, the second being a more detailed development of a section of the former) in which he exclusively, and a third (*πρὸς Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπιστολή*)[53] in which he partially (3), undertakes a thorough examination of the work of Thucydides as to form and matter. Interesting and instructive to us as these writings are, as furnishing us with a living picture of the way in which literary and grammatical criticism was practised by the rhetoricians of that day, and as containing in detail many useful remarks, yet the criticisms themselves, whether we regard the choice and arrangement of the material or the way in which it is handled and discussed, are wholly without value for us. Dionysius has so little conception of the task of history, to bring to light the actual course of events as it would disclose itself to unbiassed inquiry, that he actually makes it a reproach to Thucydides that he selected as his subject the history of a war which was unsuccessful.[54] He imputes

[52] See especially Phrynichus in Photius, *Bibliothecae codex* 150, p. 101, ed. Bekker: *εἰλικρινοῦς καὶ καθαροῦ καὶ Ἀττικοῦ λόγου κανόνας καὶ στάθμας καὶ παράδειγμά φησιν ἄριστον Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Δημοσθένην μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χοροῦ, Θουκυδίδην τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντα κτέ.*

[53] The edition of these three treatises, *Dionysii historiographica* with the *Commentationes criticae et historicae de Thucydidis historiarum parte postrema* by K. W. Krüger, Halle, 1823, is the first in the series of important works, by which the author rendered the greatest service to the interpretation and criticism of Thuc. and opened new paths for his study.

[54] *Ad Cn. Pomp.* 3. 4: *Θουκυδίδης πόλεμον ἕνα γράφει καὶ τοῦτον οὔτε κα-*

to a passion for singularity the division of the war-years into summer and winter which Thucydides adopted.[55] He blames him for arranging particular parts without having regard to their best rhetorical effect; *e.g.* that the funeral oration is placed where it is and not after some important event of the war.[56] He is displeased that events are not treated at all times on a scale proportionate to their relative importance.[57] He even attributes it to the arbitrary will of the writer that the work is broken off before the end of the war.[58] In general he fails to find a skilful distribution of the material or any proper employment of rhetorical arrangement and ornament. In fact in the whole criticism the same contrast finds expression as is to be seen between the historical writing of Thucydides and that of Dionysius himself; in the latter, a dressing up of facts to suit arbitrary assumptions and subjective theories; in the former, an absolute subordination of the record to the facts which are to be narrated.

We have already noticed the circumstances in the life of Thucydides which specially favoured him as the writer of the history of his time. With these unusual advantages were united all the qualities of mind which go to make up a great historian; of these two may be indicated as the most important: the moral earnestness of his view of the world and of life, and the temperate good sense of his own nature, by which he maintains at all times his simple and incorruptible appreciation of the real truth.

Thucydides shares with many profound characters a reluctance

λὸν οὔτ' εὐτυχῆ· ὃς μάλιστα μὲν ὤφειλε μὴ γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, σιωπῇ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἠγνοῆσθαι. ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἴληφε ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερὸν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ [i. 23. 5–18] ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἠλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληνικῶν [κακῶν R.] μέλλοντας ἀκούειν.

[55] *De Thuc. iud.* 9. 3: καινήν τινα καὶ ἀτριβῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις πορευθῆναι βουληθεὶς ὁδὸν θερείαις καὶ χειμερείαις ἐμέρισε τὴν ἱστορίαν.

[56] *De Thuc. iud.* 18. 1: ὁ δὲ περιβόητος ἐπιτάφιος, ὃν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ διελήλυθε, κατὰ τίνα δή ποτε λογισμὸν ἐν τούτῳ κεῖται τῷ τόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ; . . . ἐν ᾗ βούλεταί τις μᾶλλον βίβλῳ ἢ ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἥρμοττεν εἰρῆσθαι.

[57] *De Thuc. iud.* 13. The full treatment of the naval battles at the end of the second book is contrasted with the five lines devoted to the battle of Eurymedon in the first: things are said to be ἢ μηκυνόμενα πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἢ συναγόμενα εἰς ἔλαττον τοῦ μετρίου.

[58] *De Thuc. iud.* 16. 2: ὧν προνοούμενος ἔοικεν ἀτελῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταλιπεῖν.

to expose to view and announce in express language his own secret feelings, particularly as regards the divine administration of things; but any one who enters with true insight into the character of his narrative will recognize everywhere as its fundamental tone a sense, that, while man is responsible for his actions, the conduct and decision of human affairs is subject to the control of the deity. We shall probably not be mistaken if we attribute to the influence of the philosophical conception of the order of the world, which Anaxagoras made current among the most prominent men of Athens, that religious view which apprehends the agency of the gods not so much in the immediate indications of a personal presence, which was so natural to Herodotus and the earlier chroniclers, as in a controlling power, which is indeed withdrawn from human sight, yet is nevertheless to be reverenced with the feeling of complete dependence. It is true that, in the expression of this, the customary language of the popular belief and of the traditional forms of worship is not abandoned. The personal name, *θεός*, *θεοί*, appears most frequently either as a collective designation of those generally venerated divinities under whose protection the people feel themselves to be, whose feasts they celebrate and by whom they swear (i. 71. 21; 78. 13; ii. 15. 21; 71. 21; iii. 59. 10; iv. 87. 9; v. 30. 10; vi. 54. 29; viii. 70. 5), or in application to particular deities who are understood without their being named, as the Delphian Apollo (i. 25. 3; 118. 20; 123. 8; ii. 54. 13; iii. 92. 19; iv. 118. 7; v. 32. 6), Athene (i. 126. 5; ii. 13. 36; 15. 17; iv. 116. 11), or the Eumenides, *αἱ σεμναὶ θεαί*, (i. 126. 37). Only once, in a Boeotian religious formula, is *δαίμονες* used for *θεοί*, (iv. 97. 17). Yet the belief which rises above the forms of special worship to the general conception of divine government finds distinct expression in some places. It is to the writer an infallible symptom of extreme disturbance in the order of society if awe of the divine is broken down, whether, as in ii. 53. § 4, this is the result of the fearful plague at Athens (*θεῶν φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπείργε*), or, as in iii. 82. § 6, of the virulence of party hatred (*τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι*). In the remarkable debate between the Athenian envoys and the council of the Melians (v. 85. ff.), on the one side the consciousness of a good

cause manifests itself by confidence in protection from above (*τὸ θεῖον*), and on the other the exaltation of brute strength above every other consideration shows how the sense of right and wrong had become confused. In the same sense Nicias in his last speech (vii. 77. 17) is represented as basing his hope on this *θεῖον*. The real sentiment of Thucydides is expressed in the noble words with which Pericles (ii. 64. 9) urges his fellow-citizens to meet the uncertain future: *φέρειν χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως*. What in this passage — and only here — probably with some allusion to the language of the philosophers — is called *τὰ δαιμόνια*, *i.e.* everything which in the life of man is sent by a higher hand and is withdrawn from the calculation and control of human prudence, Thucydides usually embraces under the term *τύχη*, as an operative power, and *τύχαι* as the manifestation of it; the former in i. 140. 11; 144. 24; ii. 42. 25; iii. 45. 22; 97. 6; iv. 12. 12; 18. 20; 64. 7 (*ἧς οὐκ ἄρχω τύχης*); 86. 21; v. 16. 16; 75. 12 (*τύχῃ μὲν ὡς ἐδόκουν κακιζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες*); 111. 17; vi. 23. 11; 78. 15 (*οὐχ οἷόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι*); vii. 33. 29; 67. 23; 68. 1: the latter in i. 69. 26; 78. 5; 84. 19 (*τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς*); ii. 87. 11; iv. 18. 15; v. 102. 2; vi. 11. 22: and in the same sense *τὰ τῆς τύχης* or *ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης*, ii. 87. 6; iv. 55. 16; vii. 61. 12.[59] It is of no importance for a critical examination of Thucydides's use of language whether these expressions are found in his own narrative or are placed by him in the mouths of his speaking characters. Everywhere we are to understand by *τύχη* a power superior to man, which is not blind chance, but exercises control in accordance with a higher order; on which man can never calculate, but the operation of which he cannot without damage disregard. If *τύχη* is opposed to *γνώμη*, as in i. 144. 24; v. 75. 12, this is from the human point of view, which finds its calculations at fault; but it is by no means intended to assert the superiority of the latter. In the remarkable declaration on the death of Nicias (vii. 86. 24), *ἥκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ*

[59] On the philosophical notion of *τύχη*, particularly as understood by Aristotle, see an article by Mr. Heath in the English *Journal of Philology*, VII. p. 112.

Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν, Thucydides does not conceal that it will not always be easy for the human understanding to reconcile itself to the incomprehensible administration of the divine omnipotence. It is characteristic that nowhere is τύχη more distinctly referred to its divine source than by the Melians in their fruitless struggle against the doctrine of the right of the strongest. Twice, v. 104. 4; 112. 7, we find the significant expression ἡ τύχη ἐκ τοῦ θείου.

In the view of the world which all these passages imply there is unmistakably a pious feeling of dependence on the divine power, though any deeper penetration into the laws and relations of its operation is not granted to man. And while it is the aim of the writer in the spirit of Anaxagoras to inquire into the causes of surprising incidents, — as of the eclipse of the sun, ii. 28. 2; of a flood consequent upon an earthquake, iii. 89. 18; of the eclipse of the moon, in contrast with the superstitious terror (θειασμός) of Nicias, vii. 50. 27; of violent tempests, in contrast with the alarm of the dispirited Athenians, vii. 79. 10; — still he does not venture to draw the line between the province of positive human knowledge and that where the obscure operation of the gods makes itself felt in human things. Accordingly, while he is far from unconditionally ascribing validity to omens and oracles, and even allows himself to make a critical examination of their true meaning (ii. 17. 11; 54. 9), and in v. 16. 21 plainly admits the assumption that even the utterances of the Delphian oracles could be corruptly procured, still his bringing forward instances of omens and oracles actually verified (v. 26. 20; vi. 27. 9), and in general his frequent mention of predictions, portents, and marvellous occurrences (i. 118. 21; 134. 18; ii. 8. 7; 77. 22; 102. 27; iii. 88. 8; 92. 18; 96. 3; 104. 2; iv. 52. 1; v. 32. 6; 45. 20; vi. 70. 2), proves that he does not mean to deny the possibility of supernatural operations. Just as he views τύχαι, so he allows to the supersensible world no influence over the judgment and action of men, and therefore for practical purposes leaves it out of account. It is very intelligible to him that in times of excitement men should look about for miraculous instruction (ii. 8. 7) or help (ii. 47. 15); but he himself attaches no importance to such things, and

has had no experience of useful results therefrom; and his real opinion would probably coincide with that of the Athenian envoys, v. 103. 7, whose advice to the Melians is: *μὴ ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷς παρὸν ἀνθρωπείως ἔτι σῴζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικήν τε καὶ χρησμοὺς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.*

Clearness and definiteness were essential to Thucydides; and accordingly the proper sphere of his observation and inquiry was man, his action and his history. The less he tried to penetrate into the secret course of the divine government of the world, so much the more earnest was he to attain the most exact knowledge of everything which makes up the life of man; the motives of his action as well as their external manifestation; the efforts and conduct of individuals as well as the great movements which take place in the life of states. His judgment of human affairs, however, is controlled by one principle, that it is power of mind which makes up the value of the individual, just as it conditions the result of every activity.

With decision and clearness Thucydides recognizes the opposition between body and spirit, which found its most definite expression in Anaxagoras. He is fully alive to the weakness of human nature, and often insists upon its limitations (*e.g.* iii. 45. 30; 84. 10; v. 68. 6); and yet he is penetrated with the conviction that the spirit of man can attain the mastery over the agitating influences of the surrounding world and nature, and is competent in large measure to define and shape its own life as well as the fortunes of states. The views of Thucydides may thus have been influenced by the doctrines of Anaxagoras; yet his use of language manifests independence, and deserves a special examination so far as it touches the phenomena of the mind. The centre of all the mental power of man is for Thucydides the power of thought and cognition, from which come the energetic will and resolutions which press to action. This power, however, is not called *νοῦς*, which word occurs in Thucydides only in the less pregnant sense of the perceiving and observing faculty,[60] but

[60] *Cf.* *νοῦν ἔχειν* and *προσέχειν, pay attention to*, iii. 22. 29; vi. 93. 6; vii. 19. 32; viii. 8. 17; or *ἐν νῷ ἔχειν, intend*, iv. 8. 20; 22. 6; 85. 16; v. 45. 12. Besides we find once, iv. 120. 22, *κατὰ νοῦν, according to one's wish.*

rather γνώμη, which has in our author a very wide range of meaning. It includes the aggregate of psychical powers, intellectual as well as emotional, as opposed to the body (*cf.* especially i. 70. 19; ii. 38. 2); sometimes, however, it denotes on the intellectual side insight and cognition in general (*cf.* i. 70. 10; 75. 2; 77. 9; 91. 25; ii. 13. 21; 34. 17; 43. 21; 62. 30; 65. 32; iii. 37. 21; 83. 4; etc.); or a view, opinion, judgment, in reference to a particular matter (*cf.* i. 32. 17; 33. 17; 45. 1; 53. 7; 62. 8; 78. 2; 79. 5; 140. 28; ii. 20. 1; 86. 17; iii. 31. 11; 36. 5; 92. 3; 96. 8; iv. 18. 7; 32. 23; 58. 5; 59. 3; *etc.*); sometimes on the moral side it denotes disposition, temper, decision, as a quality (*cf.* i. 71. 4; 90. 10; 130. 10; ii. 9. 1; 11. 21; 20. 18; 59. 4, 8; 64. 32; 65. 3; 87. 9; 88. 7; iii. 9. 8; 10. 6; 12. 2; etc.), or a determination in a particular case (*cf.* αἱ γνῶμαι, i. 140. 4; ii. 89. 50; iii. 82. 16; γνώμην ποιεῖσθαι, i. 128. 27; ii. 2. 24; vii. 72. 8). In the same way the verb γιγνώσκειν, and its compounds with διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, πρό, is used sometimes with an intellectual meaning, *apprehend, understand* (*cf.* i. 25. 1; 36. 3; 86. 2; 91. 5; 102. 15; 126. 21; 134. 5; ii. 40. 7; 43. 10; 60. 17, 19), sometimes with a moral reference, *resolve, determine* (*cf.* i. 70. 7, 26; 91. 23; ii. 61. 12; iii. 40. 18; 57. 3; *etc.*). By the side of this verb διανοεῖσθαι often occurs in the same sense (*cf.* i. 1. 7; 18. 18; 52. 6; 93. 22; 124. 18; 141. 2; 143. 22; ii. 5. 16; 93. 16; 100. 20; iii. 2. 5; 75. 18; 82. 35; iv. 13. 16; etc.), and it is notable that while νοῦς remains on the lower plane, διάνοια is placed nearly on a par with γνώμη, as well in the sense of a perfected intellectual power and state of mind (*cf.* ii. 43. 3; 61. 12; 89. 23; v. 111. 9; vi. 15. 15; 21. 3; vii. 73. 2), as in that of its employment in a particular case, *thought, plan, purpose* (*cf.* i. 84. 17; 130. 9; 132. 20; 138. 2; 140. 10; 144. 5; ii. 20. 19; iii. 36. 12; 82. 22; iv. 52. 10; v. 9. 19; 105. 21; vi. 11. 23; 31. 6; 38. 19; 65. 2; 76. 5; vii. 60. 2, 25). Other compounds of νοῦς, both substantival and verbal, occur frequently in Thucydides, always with reference to mental action.[61] As to meaning ξύνεσις stands very

[61] ἐπινοεῖν, i. 70. 7, 25; ii. 8. 1; 11. 11; iv. 32. 24; v. 4. 6; vii. 59. 10; 72. 6; viii. 11. 9; κατανοεῖν, i. 126. 17; ii. 3. 7; 102. 34; iii. 59. 6; 66. 5; προνοεῖν, i. 36. 7; iii. 38. 28; 43. 13; 58. 11; iv. 61. 17; vi. 9. 10; ἐπίνοια

close to γνώμη, but only in the intellectual sense of clear insight and circumspection (*cf.* i. 138. 11; 140. 8; ii. 62. 32; 97. 33; iii. 37. 23; 82. 50; iv. 18. 22; 81. 10; 85. 21; vi. 72. 5). (On the combination γνώμης ξύνεσις in i. 75. 2, see the note on the passage.) Thucydides uses the verb ξυνιέναι only in i. 3. 20, of acquaintance with a language; but the adjective ξυνετός is his usual word to describe a man of clear insight (*cf.* i. 74. 4; 79. 8; 84. 15; 138. 8; iii. 37. 18; 82. 27; iv. 10. 2; vi. 39. 1; viii. 68. 25), while from γιγνώσκειν or νοεῖν no corresponding epithet is formed; and σοφός occurs only in iii. 37. 19 with the unfavourable sense of *crafty, over-wise;* so σοφιστής, iii. 38. 31, and σόφισμα, vi. 77. 6, have a similar implication. Thucydides uses φρονεῖν absolutely only a few times (v. 7. 10; vi. 89. 26; φρονεῖν τι, *have insight*); elsewhere with defining adverbs (*cf.* ii. 22. 2; iii. 38. 30; v. 89. 7; vi. 36. 2). He does not employ φρόνησις and φρόνιμος: but φρόνημα occurs in the sense of *self-consciousness, confidence* (*cf.* i. 81. 14; ii. 43. 28; 61. 13; 62. 27; iii. 45. 17; iv. 80. 15; v. 40. 16; 43. 7; vi. 18. 22). λόγος is in Thucydides most commonly *word* or *speech* in a wide as well as in a restricted sense; and only as derived from this has it sometimes the meaning of an expressed reason (*cf.* i. 76. 14; ii. 101. 13; v. 18. 57; 98. 2; vi. 61. 5; 92. 20), or of consideration based upon this (*cf.* v. 37. 11; δίκαια ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, 89. 8; perhaps also i. 102. 16). This last meaning of a reasonable consideration or calculation is distinctly prominent in the phrases κατὰ λόγον (*cf.* ii. 89. 25; iii. 39. 24; vi. 25. 13) and παρὰ λόγον (*cf.* i. 65. 3; 140. 11; ii. 64. 8; 91. 15; iv. 26. 11; 55. 17; 65. 18; vi. 33. 31; vii. 71. 42), as well as in the compounds ἄλογος, ἀλόγως (*cf.* i. 32. 11; ii. 65. 39; v. 104. 9; 105. 20; vi. 46. 10; 79. 9; 84. 10; 85. 2; viii. 27. 10) and εὔλογος (*cf.* iii. 82. 29; iv. 61. 28; 87. 12; vi. 76. 8; 79. 10; 84. 6). The verb λογίζεσθαι and its compounds with ἀνά, ἐκ, διά (*cf.* i. 76. 13; ii. 89. 24; iii. 82. 49; iv. 28. 25; 73. 17; v. 15. 2; 26. 18; 87. 1; vi. 18. 20; 31. 34; 36. 11; vii. 73. 19; 77. 21; viii. 2. 20), and

iii. 46. 25; 95. 11; iv. 92. 1; v. 8. 19; μετάνοια, iii. 36. 15; εὔνοια, i. 22. 14; 77. 21; 134. 6; ii. 8. 13; 11. 10; 40. 21; iii. 9. 8, *etc.*; εὔνους, ii. 35. 10; iii. 30. 11; 47. 3; iv. 71. 10; δύσνους, ii. 60. 21; κακόνους, vi. 24. 16; περίνοια, iii. 43. 9; πρόνοια, ii. 65. 22.

the noun λογισμός (*cf.* ii. 11. 30; 40. 14, 23; iii. 20. 18; iv. 10. 6; 92. 10; 108. 23; 122. 9; v. 68. 7; vi. 34. 25; viii. 57. 11), belong to the same sphere (they often, however, refer to a literal reckoning with numbers); while κρίνειν, which is used chiefly of judicial decision (*cf.* iii. 48. 5; 57. 3; 67. 20; iv. 130. 30; v. 60. 29; vi. 29. 3; 40. 16), is not seldom transferred to any judgment based on reason (*cf.* i. 21. 11; 22. 19; 138. 15; ii. 34. 15; 40. 15; 53. 13; iii. 65. 11; iv. 60. 3; v. 79. 12; 89. 9; viii. 2. 13). To λόγος in the sense of an intelligent course of reasoning is related βουλή, of prudent consideration (*cf.* i. 138. 12; v. 101. 3; 111. 27; vi. 9. 5), with the compounds or derivatives ἄβουλος (i. 120. 25), ἀβουλία (i. 32. 17; v. 75. 11), εὔβουλος (i. 84. 11), εὐβουλία (i. 78. 11; iii. 42. 4; 44. 4), ἐπιβουλή (i. 93. 23; vii. 70. 36; viii. 24. 38), βουλεύειν, βουλεύεσθαι, διαβουλεύεσθαι, ἐπιβουλεύειν, προβουλεύειν, *etc.* Thucydides uses ψυχή almost exclusively of physical life (*cf.* i. 136. 19; iii. 39. 42; viii. 50. 29); only in ii. 40. 15 (κράτιστοι τὴν ψυχήν) is it employed in a moral sense, though this is the constant meaning of the compounds εὔψυχος (*cf.* ii. 11. 23; 39. 7; 43. 23; iv. 126. 38; v. 9. 2) and εὐψυχία (*cf.* i. 84. 12; 121. 16; ii. 87. 19; 89. 11; vi. 72. 21; vii. 64. 15). While θυμός is used by him only for passionate excitement (*cf.* i. 49. 11; ii. 11. 31; v. 80. 7), and correspondingly θυμοῦσθαι (*cf.* vii. 68. 5), ἐπιθυμία (*cf.* ii. 52. 8; iv. 81. 12; v. 15. 3; vi. 13. 6; 15. 10; 24. 15; 33. 10; 78. 14; vii. 84. 8), and ἐπιθυμεῖν (*cf.* i. 80. 3; 124. 13; iii. 84. 5; iv. 21. 3; 108. 22; 117. 8; v. 36. 17; 41. 19; vi. 10. 2; 15. 7; 92. 16; vii. 77. 37), he is fond of ἐνθυμεῖσθαι to express clear apprehension or profound consideration (*cf.* i. 42. 1; 120. 27; ii. 43. 9; iii. 40. 26; v. 32. 5; 111. 4, 25; vi. 30. 14; 78. 3; vii. 18. 17; 63. 11; 64. 11).

This review of the language employed by Thucydides in the field of psychology, and especially the perception of the large range of γνώμη and expressions connected with it, is calculated to convince us that in his conception of the basis of morality he must in one important point have approximated closely to that of his great contemporary Socrates. As he referred all human virtue to knowledge and therefore regarded it as capable of being taught and learnt, so with Thucydides the capacity of men on which he

sets the highest value rests first of all on clearness and acuteness of insight, which judges correctly the existing relations of things, and thus is able to take a sure glance into the future. See especially the description of Themistocles, i. 138, in whom the *οἰκεία ξύνεσις* resulted in his being not only *κράτιστος γνώμων τῶν παραχρῆμα* but also *ἄριστος εἰκαστὴς τοῦ γενησομένου*. Pericles also is *λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος* (i. 139. 24) because he is *γνώμῃ ξυνετός* (ii. 34. 17, 22), and because, as being *δυνατὸς τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ* (ii. 65. 31), he had clearly foreseen the importance of the war (ii. 65. 21, *προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν . . . ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*). Out of a right understanding flow all the qualities on which efficient action depends, and chiefly self-control and moderation (*ἡ σωφροσύνη*: i. 32. 16; 68. 3; 84. 5, 12; iii. 37. 16; 84. 3; viii. 64. 21; *τὸ σῶφρον*: i. 37. 7; iii. 62. 10; 82. 26; *σωφρονεῖν*: i. 40. 8; 86. 8; iii. 44. 3; iv. 60. 2; 61. 1; 64. 16; vi. 11. 29; 79. 9; 87. 20; viii. 24. 21); this forms the basis of all moral order, and is lost if the passions are allowed to rule. Thucydides gives us in iii. 82, on the occasion of the party warfare in Corcyra, a grand picture of the utter disturbance of all the relations of life which takes its rise from confusion of ideas. As long as *αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχοισι* (iii. 82. 15), matters of external order are maintained with stability; but when the *ὀργαὶ τῶν πολλῶν* take the place of *γνώμη*, all discipline and morality are overthrown. Again, it is no doubt the writer's own conviction which he puts into the mouth of Pericles (ii. 40. 11), *διαφερόντως καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.* On the other hand it is an indication of the vulgarity of Cleon's character that he considers that that state has the surest basis in which the citizens unite want of knowledge and culture, *ἀμαθία*, with *σωφροσύνη*, which last in such a connexion is degraded to a stupid indifference.

It is the natural result of a correct insight to recognize that righteousness, regard namely for law and contracts and the performance of duty, is the surest support of civil order and the reciprocal relations of states. The general term to express this is *τὸ δίκαιον* (*cf.* i. 25. 11; iii. 10. 1; 47. 18; 56. 8; 82. 61; iv. 61. 15; 62. 11; v. 86. 6; 90. 2; 107. 2; vi. 79. 1); while the abstract

δικαιοσύνη occurs only in iii. 63. 21. But since in human affairs it is only seldom that right and wrong can be estimated with perfect exactness, the recognition and defence of one's own interest is a necessary condition of self-preservation. Not only Cleon (iii. 37. ff.) but also Diodotus (iii. 42. ff.) maintains the policy of interest; and even the Plataeans seek to move the Spartans to mercy (iii. 56. § 7) by the apprehension of their real advantage. But how little Thucydides sympathized with the cynical doctrine of the right of the stronger which the Athenians proclaim in their dialogue with the Melians (v. 85–113) is shown unmistakably by the manner in which he allows it to be displayed in all its revolting recklessness at that very point in his narrative where the Athenian empire received its last petty accession, and the Sicilian expedition was about to be undertaken which was destined to result in its overthrow. He rather shows with abundant clearness the high regard he has for that temper which even in political matters gives a hearing not merely to strict right but also to considerations of humanity and compassion. This magnanimity, which does not allow the weaker to feel the full weight of superior power, but rather lays him under obligation by benefit, is called by him chiefly ἀρετή (*cf.* i. 37. 8; 69. 8; ii. 40. 18; 51. 20; 71. 18; iii. 10. 1; 56. 27; 57. 10; 58. 2; iv. 19. 12; 81. 10; 86. 19; v. 105. 16; vi. 54. 21). Compassion and mercy are in his eyes noble feelings. It is true that he makes Cleon reject them with unfeeling roughness (iii. 40. 6, μὴ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, ἁμαρτάνειν); but where they are recklessly outraged, the tone of his narration allows his condemnatory judgment to be felt, *e.g.* in the execution of the Plataeans, iii. 68, and in the mournful fate of the captured Athenians, vii. 86, 87. Not less clearly does Thucydides represent the motive of honour as a noble and worthy one in the dealings of men. The feeling itself he calls αἰδώς in i. 84. 12; in other places αἰσχύνη (*cf.* i. 84. 12; ii. 51. 20; iv. 19. 15; v. 104. 8; 111. 16); and he sets high value upon it, just as in his finest speeches he gives a prominent place to a regard for fame among contemporaries and posterity (*cf.* ii. 41. § 4; 64. 27; iii. 57. § 2). A noble bearing, which unselfishly keeps in view the

higher aims of human life, is described by Thucydides chiefly as *καλόν* (*cf.* i. 38. 10; ii. 35. 2; 53. 9; 64. 28; iii. 42. 12; 55. 11; 94. 16; iv. 126. 26; v. 46. 7; 69. 10; 107. 2; vi. 79. 8; vii. 70. 46; 71. 4; viii. 2. 8; 12. 8), and the opposite character by *αἰσχρόν* (*cf.* i. 38. 12; 122. 16; ii. 40. 4; 64. 29; iii. 42. 11; 58. 5; iv. 20. 6; vi. 21. 7; vii. 48. 28); in which we see a preparation for the more strictly ethical usage of Plato. The combination *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, which became so current at a later time, Thucydides uses once (iv. 40. 8) in a moral sense, and once (viii. 48. 37) as a designation of the aristocratical party.

But while Thucydides thus concedes the fullest right to moral worth and the nobler sentiments of humanity, he yet finds the highest quality of a statesman in the controlling power of the thinking mind, in *γνώμη* or *ξύνεσις*, which gives a clear insight into the reality of things. Only by help of this do all the other qualities appear in their true import. It is in Pericles that this power is seen most conspicuously. As in his first speech (i. 140–144) he sweeps away all the self-deception of peace-loving optimists and shows that with the position of parties in Greece war is inevitable, so his last speech (ii. 60–64) contains incontrovertible evidence that his estimate of the power of Athens for the attainment of the end in view was perfectly correct, if only it was employed with composure and steadiness; and Thucydides himself, in view of the later events, adds his own confirmation of the words of the orator (ii. 65. § 7 ff.).

This same quality, which he had learnt by his own observation to admire in the great statesman — the calm consideration of reality and the clear recognition of its importance in things as well as persons, — it is this which he has himself striven after as the highest for his own task of writing history. A simple unbeguiled feeling for the real truth controls his apprehension of things — his judgment of the actions of men and their results, as well as his delineation itself, both in its general method and in the details of form and expression. With this intelligent appreciation of the relation of things he recognized the importance of the impending war at its very beginning; and devoted the closest attention to the ascertainment of all its events. He asserts this himself in

i. 1. 3 (*ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς, sc. ξυγγράφειν*, where the verb is to be understood of the collection of material and of every sort of preparation) and also in i. 22, where he depicts his zealous diligence and strict conscientiousness in making use of every source of information; and once more in v. 26. § 4, where he repeats that from the beginning of the war he found himself in a position to observe its course with judicious scrutiny, that he kept his eyes open at all times for what was remarkable, and that he used the period of his twenty years' exile in visiting the scenes of the war, on the Peloponnesian side as well as the Athenian, and in uninterrupted inquiry. As therefore he had at his command under the most favourable circumstances all the means for enlarging and certifying his knowledge of the real relations of things, so in his mental culture and in his experience and knowledge of affairs[62] he possessed all that was requisite for applying the standard of a just judgment to the persons engaged. The necessity he felt to see even things remote in time and space in the light of their real existence is shown especially when he seeks to reduce to their true value the traditional reports of legend and poetry (*cf.* i. 10, 11; ii. 15; 102; vi. 2); he endeavours by the help of facts (*τοῖς ἔργοις*, i. 11. 18) to oppose the reality of events to *φήμη* and to the *διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς περὶ αὐτῶν κατεσχηκὼς λόγος*, and if exact proof cannot be brought forward for the true opinion, he does his best to attain the *εἰκός* (*cf.* i. 10. 20, 29; ii. 48. 10), as one of the most important criteria for the historical inquirer. This unceasing demand of Thucydides for the real facts is no doubt the reason why he shows himself incredulous and even unjust to Epic poetry. He handles it only in reference to its historical contents, and its indispensable *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμεῖν* (i. 10. 20; 21. 3) is to him only a disfigurement of the truth. He seeks not for any other ground of its value. So he feels himself in direct opposition to the work of the so-called logographers which precedes his own, because it aims *ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον*, and with full consciousness that his work will suffer in its entertaining

[62] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, III. p. 168: "A man who has taken no part in administration cannot write history. No great historian can be developed in the closet. A really able historian must have seen the world."

qualities, he claims for it (i. 22. § 4) the higher merit of setting forth the unadorned reality, feeling assurance however that it will be a pattern for all time.[63]

This whole mass of historical material he lays before his readers with the utmost truth of delineation. He is so completely devoted to his subject that he takes no pains to arrange and mould it according to his own notions of propriety, but allows it to unfold and develop itself. The living picture which he sees of the course of events and of the way in which they were influenced by the persons engaged in them he cannot help embodying in a narrative which by the simplest means is charged with life and truth. If we examine his most famous delineations, — the siege of Plataea (ii. 71–78), the escape of the Plataeans (iii. 20–24), the battles in the Corinthian gulf (ii. 83–92), the Acarnanian expedition of Demosthenes (iii. 105–114), the affair of Pylos (iv. 3–14), the preparations for the Sicilian expedition and its departure (vi. 26; 30–32), the siege and defensive operations of Syracuse (vi. 98 ff.), the battles in the harbour of Syracuse (vii. 36–41; 52–54; 70, 71),[64] the fate of the retreating army of the Athenians (vii. 75–87), — we see that it is not any artistic disposition of the subject, no rhetorical adornment, which is presented to our eyes, but the simplest narrative, which accompanies the events as they advance from day to day and leaves no gap in their natural sequence, so that we receive the impression of being actual witnesses of them.[65] The course of the narrative adhering thus closely to the progress of events has, therefore, little in common with the easy-going manner of Herodotus, who at every turn breaks off the thread of his story to introduce as an episode some circumstance of which he has been reminded. The few digressions which we find in Thucydides (i. 126; 128 ff.;

[63] Cic. *Brut.* 83. 287: *Thucydides rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus.* Dion. Hal. *De Thuc. iud.* 6, recognizes, it is true, his essential truthfulness, but fails in applying the right measure for the appreciation of his work.

[64] Niebuhr, *Lectures*, II. p. 126: "Few events in history are narrated with such an absorbing pathos as these occurrences in Thucydides."

[65] Plutarch, *De glor. Ath.* 3: *ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἀεὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ταύτην ἀμιλλᾶται τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οἷον θεατὴν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀκροατήν, καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα περὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐκπληκτικὰ καὶ ταρακτικὰ πάθη τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἐνεργάσασθαι λεχνευόμενος.*

135 ff.; ii. 15; 96 f.; 99 f.; iii. 104; vi. 1 ff.; 54 ff.) have always a definite occasion and contribute materially to a correct judgment of the circumstances narrated.

It is with the view of keeping as close as possible in his narrative to the actual course of events that Thucydides made use of the division of time that he has employed. This is neither that of the astronomical nor that of the civil year, but one which corresponds to the actual conditions of the carrying on of war; the larger part of the year, in which the weather permits freely all operations and especially maritime ones, is opposed to the shorter portion, in which all more important undertakings must be suspended. He narrates therefore *κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας* (ii. 1. 5; v. 20. 10), because the occurrences of war actually so divide themselves and are distributed over two unequal periods, which may vary in length according to the conditions of the seasons. This is the meaning of the expression in v. 20. 11, *ἐξ ἡμισείας ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος, i.e. ἑκατέρου (τοῦ τε θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος) τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἐξ ἡμισείας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ,* "each of the two divisions of the year being reckoned as equal on an average to half a year;" in other words, the two portions, though unequal in length, will always together make up a year.[66] The climatic conditions of Greece and the Grecian seas are such that during four months — the *μῆνες τέσσαρες οἱ χειμερινοί* of vi. 21. 14, *i.e. Μαιμακτηριών* to *Ἀνθεστηριών* (nearly = November to February) — little or nothing can be done in the field or at sea; while the eight remaining months — *Ἐλαφηβολιών* to *Πυανεψιών* (nearly = March to October), — which include *ἔαρ* and *μετόπωρον* (vii. 79. 10; viii. 108. 9) or *φθινόπωρον* (ii. 31. 1; iii. 18. 15; 100. 6), form the *θέρος* or the time for active warfare. To this division of the year, which rests on natural relations, correspond the particular subdivisions of the *θέρος* which are taken from the progress of vegetation, particularly of field-crops. *Cf.* ii. 19. 5, *τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος.* iv. 1. 1, *περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν.* iv. 2. 1, *πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι.* iv.

[66] Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Erkl.* p. 32 and 50, maintains that Thuc. gave to the winter the same duration as to the summer. This view is enforced with a minute examination of all the passages bearing upon this question by Herbst, Philol. 42, p. 639 ff.

6. 5, *τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος.*[67] iii. 15. 11, *ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ.* iv. 84. 3, *ὀλίγον πρὸ τρυγήτου.* It would be a mistake to regard these definitions of time as absolutely fixed for every year; they are in the natural course of things approximately fixed, but they varied no doubt with the actual phenomena of each particular year.[68]

In his delineation of persons Thucydides shows them to us in their actions, in the part they take in the promotion of decisive resolutions and in the carrying out of plans adopted. He is sparing indeed in the expression of any definite judgments of his own about prominent men; — we have only, among the contemporaries of the Peloponnesian war, the brief description of Archidamus, i. 79. 8; of Pericles, ii. 65. § 5 ff.; of Cleon, iii. 36. 27; iv. 21. 9; v. 16. 5; of Brasidas, ii. 25. 13; iv. 81. § 1 ff.; 108. 11; of Nicias, v. 16. 9; vii. 86. 24; of Alcibiades, v. 43. 5; vi. 15. 5; of Hermocrates, vi. 72. 4; of Phrynichus, viii. 27. 26; of Antiphon, viii. 68. 5; and a few more casual notices, — but every susceptible reader will find that the plain narrative of their actions sets the persons engaged vividly before us. The transactions themselves are so naturally developed that, as if we were eye-witnesses, we cannot help forming a judgment about the men we read of as to their skill or incapacity, their profound insight or their intellectual poverty, the purity of their characters or the duplicity of their motives, their energetic decisiveness or their hesitating irresolution. Besides this, however, Thucydides uses with the greatest effect another means of vivid presentation, which was not indeed used first by him, but which he employed in the most masterly way, that namely of introducing speeches supposed to be made by the most important personages, wherein they give expression to their innermost thoughts and the motives of their actions.

[67] See the careful examination of the matter by Vömel (*Frankfurter Frühjahrsprogramm*, 1846), who shows that the *ἀκμή*, the time preceding ripeness, comprises in Attica the end of May and the greater part of June. The subject is discussed also by Müller-Strübing, Jahrbb. 127 (1883), p. 589 ff., and by Neumann and Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 439.

[68] Unger, *Zur Zeitrechnung des Thuk.*, Münch. Sitzungsb. 1875, insists that the periods spoken of in v. 20. § 2 were each half a year, and that the calculation was based on the calendar, not the natural, year. This last point, as well as other conclusions of Unger's, Herbst disputes in the article referred to in note 66.

The employment of direct speech as a means of expressing feelings and thoughts formed the most effective mode of presentation in the Epic poetry of Homer, and reached its highest freedom and completeness in the Attic drama. The same method was resorted to with the happiest results also in the most strict historical writing to give expression to the inner side of the transactions recorded; and it may be added that, as this method gives objective utterance to the psychological side of historical representation, so in philosophical dialogue the clearest statement of the dialectical development of thought was effected in the same way. Thucydides sets himself to adhere as exactly as possible to the speeches actually delivered; of this his own words in i. 22. § 1 leave no doubt. But that this effort is directed rather to the thoughts than to the form of what was said he states himself distinctly in the words *ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων*. Indeed at this time a verbally accurate report of the words uttered is not conceivable. In default, therefore, of an exact account of the language actually used Thucydides supplied what was lacking, *ὡς ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν*. In the free use of this principle he allows himself to bring forward a speaker to controvert views and reasons which have been put forth by a different speaker at another place and time. We find unmistakable examples of this sort in the speech of the Corinthian ambassadors, i. 120. ff., as compared with that of Archidamus, i. 80. ff., and in the first speech of Pericles, i. 140. ff., in reference to the Corinthian speech just mentioned. So there can be little doubt that to the writer is due the reservation of a part of his material which Pericles announces in i. 144. 5 (*ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται*) and its subsequent introduction in ii. 13. § 2 ff. It is a natural result, therefore, of this mode of treatment that, while the language of the Thucydidean speeches, both in the structure of sentences and in particular expressions, has a uniform character, viz., that of the writer, still in each separate speech the character and mode of thought of the assumed speaker are clearly manifested. This is true of all the speeches without exception, and no less so of the debate between the Athenian envoys and the representatives of the island of Melos (*οἱ τῶν*

Μηλίων ξύνεδροι), v. 85–111. Grote,[69] it is true, has great doubts of the accuracy of this report, and ascribes the larger part of it to the "dramatic genius and arrangement" of the writer. But we may very well assume that on this occasion a report or minute of the discussion was made by the Athenian deputies and generals, which was kept in the archives of the senate at Athens and of which Thucydides even in his own absence could have obtained an accurate knowledge, as he did of other documents which he records and of the letter of Nicias, vii. 11–15. We may assume also in regard to reports of shorter utterances, that they rest upon authentic transmission. *Cf.* iii. 113. § 2 ff.; viii. 53. § 3; ii. 12. 14. The few statements of this character, which are introduced in direct or indirect speech, have the effect of great vividness and present to us an important crisis with high distinctness. When, however, events develop themselves in rapid succession and the press of circumstances forbids the employment of set speeches, the brief and condensed *résumés* of what was said serve to enliven the narrative. Compare the considerable extracts from the second speech of Pericles, ii. 13; from Cleon's speeches, iv. 22. and 28. It is probably for this reason that in the eighth book, when the changes are so rapid and the character of many transactions there recorded is so peculiar that they did not lend themselves to formal treatment, the thoughts and purposes of the agents are communicated indirectly (*cf.* viii. 27; 46; 53; 63; 67; 76; 81) and we find no complete speeches.[70]

But more than all by his use of speeches Thucydides has secured to his narrative the character of the highest impartiality. He does not indeed occupy the position of an indifferent spectator of events and their results; we are everywhere conscious how completely he is an Athenian in sentiment, and how deeply he

[69] *Hist. of Greece*, VI. chap. 56, p. 379 (1870). "There is indeed every reason for concluding that what we here read in Thucydides is in far larger proportion his own and in smaller proportion authentic report, than any other of the speeches which he professes to set down."

[70] *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Lectures*, II. p. 35 ff.; Krüger, *Unterss.* p. 79. Yet the latter is no doubt right in observing that in the eighth book we miss more than elsewhere the last revision of the author.

sympathizes with the fortunes of Athens, though he never gives expression to this feeling; he belongs indeed by birth and by social position to the aristocratical party, but looks for welfare only in a well-tempered form of government, and is always inclined to those statesmen who unite force of character with good sense and moderation. This sentiment appears in definite expressions as well as by many other indications[71]; but Thucydides always concedes to those entertaining views opposed to his own the right of expressing their reasons; and in the conviction that in human affairs error is always associated with truth, that in political matters absolute right and truth are never wholly on one side, he presents speech and counter-speech with equally clear and careful elaboration. At the very beginning the speeches of the Corcyraeans (i. 32–36) and the Corinthians (i. 37–43) give us an insight into a conflict which from the irritation of the parties no longer admits a peaceable settlement; and the opposition appears with yet greater intensity in the speeches made at Sparta by the Corinthians (i. 68–71) and the Athenians (i. 73–78). At Sparta too the peace party and the war party find their living utterance in the speeches of Archidamus (i. 80–85) and Sthenelaïdas (i. 86); but it is felt that passion has now the better of moderation. With excellent effect, therefore, the pre-eminent position of Pericles is set before us. He proves incontestably (i. 140–144) the necessity of the war from a consideration of the dignity and power of Athens, and in a short review (ii. 13) sets forth the sufficiency of her means; and when the beginning of the war does not answer their expectations, he is able in his incomparable funeral oration (ii. 35–46) to keep his fellow-citizens up to the fulness of resolve by the stimulation of a noble and justifiable self-respect; and when undeserved misfortune has bowed their spirit and confidence, in his farewell speech (ii. 60–64) he raises their courage again by calling to mind all the greatness of the past and the present. Not less clearly do we become acquainted with

[71] Disparaging assertions of the fickleness of the mob and the influence of demagogues are found in ii. 21. § 2, 3; 59. § 1, 2; 65. § 10 ff.; iii. 36. § 4; iv. 28. § 5; vi. 63. § 2. We find the most decisive praise of a mixed constitution in viii. 97. § 2.

the way in which other leading men thought and acted, from their speeches whether longer or shorter; *e.g.* Phormio, ii. 89; Demosthenes, iv. 10; Brasidas, iv. 85–87, of whom it is said, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν; Hippocrates, iv. 95; Hermocrates, iv. 59–64; Nicias, vi. 68; vii. 61–64; 77; Gylippus, vii. 66–68; Alcibiades in Sparta, vi. 89–92. But the art of Thucydides in setting forth with objective clearness the reasons *pro* and *con* of controverted questions is shown most conspicuously in the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus, iii. 37–40; 42–48, on the Lesbian affair; of the Plataean and Theban deputies, iii. 53–59; 61–67, on the Plataean question; of Nicias and Alcibiades, vi. 9–14; 16–18; 20–23, on the Sicilian expedition; of Hermocrates and Athenagoras, vi. 33–34; 36–40, on the defence of Syracuse; of Hermocrates and the Athenian ambassador Euphemus, vi. 76–80; 82–87, on the accession of Camarina. Without our own choice we find ourselves involved in the conflict of interests, and are put in a position to form judgment for ourselves from the situation of affairs and the feeling of parties. Very seldom does the historian himself add a word of comment. The most remarkable instance of his doing so is found in the declarations which he makes with regard to the transactions in which Cleon takes part; in iii. 36. § 6, on the decision about the Lesbians; and in iv. 21. § 3; 22. § 2; 28. § 3 ff.; 39. § 3, about Pylos and the consequent proposals of peace made by the Lacedaemonians. The strong aversion which Thucydides manifests when he describes the person and actions of Cleon has been attributed in ancient as well as in modern times to the personal reason that Cleon was probably the cause of the banishment of the historian (see above, p. 11); and this is regarded as a violation of historical impartiality. Grote expresses this opinion most decidedly.[72] But the assumption of any hostile movement on Cleon's part against Thucydides rests only on conjecture,[73] and appears in fact not necessary to explain the unconcealed aversion felt by the historian to Cleon. Thucydides a little more than a year after the death of Pericles, who is the object of his love and admiration, says of Cleon, iii. 36. 26, ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα

[72] *Hist. of Greece*, VI. chap. 53, p. 191 (1870). See above, note 23.

[73] Niebuhr, *Lectures*, II. p. 82, does not assume it.

βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος, and in iv. 21. 9, with nearly the same words, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὢν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος.[74] We have in these words only the application to a concrete case of the bitter feeling which had already (ii. 65. § 7 ff.) found expression in general terms, where the melancholy contrast is drawn out between the ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή and the ruinous conduct of those who ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι. Those judgments about Cleon, whose nature had not a trace of the exalted magnanimity of Pericles, are the legitimate expression of the historian's profound sorrow at the decline of his country, which he saw, after being controlled so gloriously by Pericles, surrendered to the self-seeking ambition of unworthy men. He points thus prominently at Cleon because there can be no doubt that before the Lesbian affair — he was even then τῷ δήμῳ πιθανώτατος — he had attained great influence with the mob and had probably embittered the last years of Pericles. If from the speeches in Thucydides the same picture of various personalities presents itself to us as the historian had formed in his own mind, the highest aim is reached which any historian can attain. Genuine impartiality does not exclude judgment and personal conviction in regard either to the wisdom or the moral value of purposes and actions. But it is necessary that we should be furnished with the materials for forming our own opinions independently of the previous judgment of the writer. Thucydides has done this for us to an extent and in a manner which probably no other historian has equalled; and in this lies his imperishable value for all time.

In close correspondence with the effort the historian is evidently always making to get as close as possible to men and things in their real relations, is his expression in language, which he has, we may say, moulded to suit his great task. To form a just appreciation of its peculiarities we must consider first of all that Thucydides was

[74] Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VI. chap. 52, p. 106 (1870), finds this repetition so surprising that he thinks Thuc. must have forgotten that he had written the former passage. It is more likely that it is nothing more than the expression of the lively dislike which Thuc. felt for the predominant influence of Cleon.

the first to employ the Attic speech for the purposes of historical narrative. It may be said in general that Attic prose as a written language was then in the first stage of its development. It cannot, it is true, be doubted that in the period from Solon to Pericles with its momentous political changes the Attic speech had in the manifold needs of public and private life formed itself to that character of simplicity, clearness, and definiteness by which it is distinguished above all the other Greek dialects. It must have been employed in the literary efforts of the Pisistratidae for many sorts of records; and it is still more certain that after the restoration of freedom the living word of the great statesmen from Clisthenes to Cimon must have exerted the most potent influence on the cultivation and settlement of the language. But this is again in its kind a phenomenon without parallel in history, that a people so rarely dowered as the Greek could live through a long period, crowded with the highest human interest and calling into play all forms of political and intellectual activity, without leaving any evidences of its existence except in artistic form. While the tragedies of Phrynichus and Aeschylus were charming and elevating the Athenian people by the noblest matter in the noblest form, Attic prose was used for hardly any other purposes than those of business.[75]

We cannot decide how much of speeches delivered in the assembly or the courts at an earlier time was either previously or subsequently noted down; in any case the language retained probably longer than any other its character of originality and its capacity of receiving new refinements. It still possessed this union of ripeness and power of fresh development when the first orators, who paid regard to the theory of their art, and Thucydides made use of it. It has been stated above, p. 7 ff., that Thucydides had consciously allowed himself to be influenced by the recent elements of culture, which had been introduced in his youth by philosophers and rhetoricians, and employed by orators like Antiphon; and it is interesting to observe here and there indications of this influence;[76] but it is the chief charm of the language of the his-

[75] Cic. *Brut.* 7. 27: *ante Periclem ... et Thucydidem, qui non nascentibus Athenis sed iam adultis fuerunt, litterae nulla est quae quidem ornatum aliquem habeat et oratoris esse videatur.*

[76] See above, notes 18 to 21. Poppo, *De historia Thucydidea commentatio*, p. 64.

torian that he used it as a master for the freest expression of his personal judgment. There is no trace in his style of blind following of worn-out tradition or of phrases made to a pattern.[77] Whatever his mind at the moment concentrated itself upon, finds a corresponding expression in his words. Accordingly the fundamental character of the language of Thucydides is the greatest simplicity and naturalness. Everything in it that occasions trouble to the understanding of the reader is due to the effort of the writer to give to the expression the most exact correspondence with the matters to be represented. The solution of the difficulty, therefore, is to be found by penetrating into the connexion of fact and thought; the more we are able to do this, the better shall we succeed in getting at the true sense of the words.

The free position which Thucydides occupies in regard to the still unsettled language is seen as well in the choice of particular words as in the order in which they are placed. We find in him a considerable number of expressions which occur only in later imitators; but we must not attribute to him on this account a conscious seeking after what is unusual or antiquated.[78] In some cases our judgment is at fault, because we do not know what was usual in the cultivated speech of his time at Athens; and herein Dionysius himself also was at a loss. We have to make allowance for the creative power of a master mind which is not content to take the inherited material of language as all-sufficient for every need of expression, but understands how to employ new forms according to the necessities of his thought. Thucydides may rightly claim the *ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων* and the *πολυειδὲς τῶν σχημάτων* which Dionysius (24. 6) attributes to him; but he is far from abusing in an arbitrary and capricious way the right of innovation which a language in the fresh-

[77] It is no contradiction of this that Thuc. repeats with more or less variation expressions of his own coinage; showing rather a certain satisfaction in the successful presentation of a thought, than any mere mannerism of language. Such are to be seen in ii. 8. 17; iv. 14. 14: 2. 36. 14; iv. 59. 5: ii. 8. 1; vii. 59. 10; (viii. 15. 21): ii. 65. 12; iv. 28. 12; vi. 63. 10: iii. 49. 18; vii. 2. 23: i. 110. 2; iii. 112. 30; vii. 87. 26: iii. 94. 27; viii. 25. 28; *etc.*

[78] This is the charge of Dionys. *De Thuc. iud.* 24. 1: *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν τροπικὴν καὶ γλωττηματικὴν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένην καὶ ξένην λέξιν προελόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις.*

ness of its vigour concedes to a subtle and accurate thinker, though this is what Dionysius with little insight, charges him with.[79] A list of all the words which are peculiar to Thucydides or nearly so will show such forms only as are in accordance with the spirit of the Greek language; and a close examination will, in all cases, make manifest their fitness for use in their several places. In proof of this attention may be called to two of the usages which are of especially frequent occurrence. He uses probably oftener than any other writer the neuter singular of adjectives and participles as abstract substantives; *e.g.* *τὸ πιστόν, τὸ βραδύ, τὸ τολμηρόν, τὸ ἐπιεικές, τὸ ξυνετόν, τὸ δεδιός, τὸ βουλόμενον, τὸ ὀργιζόμενον, τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, τὸ θυμούμενον, etc.* There is in this no capricious mannerism; but he is striving to clothe the abstract idea in a dress which may render it in the particular case more easy of apprehension, while at the same time the neuter secures the maintenance of that indefiniteness which pertains to the notion itself. To a similar effort to elevate general conceptions as far as possible to distinct apprehension is due his tendency to employ verbal nouns in *-της* and *-σις*. Examples of the former occur in i. 70. 10; 138. 14; of the latter, i. 141. 6; iii. 82. 20–30. Dionysius ascribes this tendency to mere wilfulness. Hermogenes[80] shows a better judgment when he attributes the frequent employment of nominal forms instead of verbal ones to an effort to give to the expression of the thought greater dignity and elevation than could be secured by the use of the corresponding verbs.

The position of words is of yet more importance in the style of Thucydides. It is a law of the Greek language that the order of internal importance shall as far as possible be manifested in the order of external position; not indeed that the external arrange-

[79] 24. 2: *στρέφων ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν τῆς φράσεως μορίων ῥινῶν καὶ τορεύων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν λόγον ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιῶν, τοτὲ δ' εἰς ὄνομα συνάγων τὸν λόγον, καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ ῥηματικὸν ὀνομαστικῶς ἐκφέρων, αὖθις δὲ τοὔνομα ῥῆμα ποιῶν καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων ἀναστρέφων τὰς χρήσεις κτέ.*

[80] Hermog. *περὶ ἰδεῶν* in Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, III. p. 226: *σεμνὴ λέξις ἡ ὀνομαστικὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα· ὀνομαστικὴν δὲ λέγω τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων εἰς ὀνόματα πεποιημένην· ὡς ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐν σεμνότητι δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Θουκυδίδης· σχεδὸν γὰρ διόλου βούλεται ποιεῖν τοῦτο, καταφανῶς δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ τῆς στάσεως ἐκφράσει τῶν Κερκυραίων πεποίηκε.*

ment defines the importance of the words; but the oral utterance obeys its own special laws, and natural feeling permits these to be treated with freedom. Here much must be left to the observation of the reader; but a few observations of far-reaching application may be offered. (1) Thucydides is fond of placing at the beginning of a sentence the principal object in the accusative, giving thus as it were in a single word the theme of the discussion. In these cases the grammatical connexion is often relaxed and sometimes wholly abandoned. *Cf.* i. 32. 18, and the examples there cited. Similarly portions of the predicate are placed before the conjunction which introduces the sentence. *Cf.* i. 19. 3; 77. 6; ii. 65. 7. (2) A general predicate noun is placed first in connexion with a following superlative, as noted on i. 1. 8; by this arrangement the noun becomes as it were the text of the following remark. (3) Of a different kind are the numerous cases in which a noun without the article is placed before a qualifying participle or adjective with the article; for this throws the principal stress on the qualifying word; for examples see on i. 1. 6. This order is frequent also in Herodotus, but comparatively rare in other Attic writers. (4) Partitive genitives, as representing the principal notion, generally stand before the governing nouns, particularly in designations of places, when the name of the country usually precedes that of a portion of it. See on i. 100. 15. So the objective genitive stands between a preposition and the noun on which it depends. See on i. 32. 8. (5) Two clauses closely related and connected by a copula — as two objects of the same verb, two verbs with the same object, two predicates — are often separated by another word of importance. This is not peculiar to Thucydides but is a favourite arrangement with him. The effect of it is not to dislocate the structure, but the interposed obstruction forces into notice the essential connexion of the separated clauses. Examples of this occur on nearly every page; as in i. 69. 4 (ἐλευθερίας), 17 (τινα), 18 (τὴν αὔξησιν). (6) Conversely a parallelism in structure occasionally is found where there is no exact correspondence in thought. *Cf.* i. 33. 12; 69. 32; 138. 18; ii. 61. 19; 74. 16. (7) Great weight is sometimes laid upon an adverbial expression by its position at the close of the sentence, an arrangement often used by Demosthenes. *Cf.* i. 28. 12; 77. 19; 133. 8; ii. 7. 18.

Thucydides has made large use of the period with its complete structure of protasis, apodosis, and subordinate clauses. But in the simple narrative he prefers to allow the circumstances of an event to follow one another in coördination. We often find, accordingly, a long series of short sentences, united together by various connective particles, which everywhere demand attentive consideration, and none of them to a greater degree than the apparently insignificant τε, the effect of which has often been pointed out in the commentary. By a paratactic arrangement of sentences he often produces a greater effect than we should have expected. See on i. 26. 16,[81] and the examples there cited. We may notice also that it is taken for granted that attention to the course of the narrative when it is clearly stated will suffice to prevent confusion, when, without special notice, the subject is changed, as is more frequently done than is usual with us; and even within the limits of the same sentence the extension of the subject is enlarged or narrowed, when the circumstances introduced require such a modification, so that at the end the same term is to be taken in a wider or a more restricted sense than it was at the beginning. See on i. 18. 21; 61. 9; 124. 7; ii. 54. 4; iii. 23. 1; 53. 17; iv. 6. 3; *etc.*

The transition from the paratactic arrangement to the period proper is found in the annexing of an explanatory member with γάρ at the beginning of a long sentence. This is not indeed so frequent as it is in Homer (see Classen, *Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch*, p. 6 ff.) and in Herodotus, but is found often enough in Thucydides (see on i. 31. 7); and the examples noted on i. 72. 1; 115. 14 show how closely this arrangement approximated to the actual period. It is in such passages that we best apprehend the effort of the writer to give complete expression to his thought by means of a vehicle not yet reduced to entire flexibility. Thucydides shares with all energetic

[81] Ullrich, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik des Thucydides*, 1862, p. 34 ff. gives substantially the same account of this passage, and shows that the unusual ἀλλά instead of καί, depending on the preceding negative, suggests really an aposiopesis, as if it were: ἀλλ' [ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν καί] στρατεύουσιν . . . οἱ Κερκυραῖοι.

thinkers the desire to use no superfluous words. It is not surprising, therefore, that we cannot without trouble penetrate through the condensed phrase to the full apprehension of his meaning, especially in those cases where the most hidden processes of thought and feeling are to be indicated. It cannot be asserted that Thucydides aims at brevity and finds pleasure in dark expressions. The truth is that in the department in which he laboured the Greek language had little or nothing previously worked out, and that he had often to wrestle painfully with a resisting material to find satisfactory expression for what he desired to say. The evidence of this laborious effort is to be seen in many inequalities in the work. Still, where the text is not certainly corrupt, honest and resolute effort will always succeed in grasping the true sense of the writer even in the most difficult passages.[82] The task of understanding Thucydides in all his parts and all his peculiarities is, it is true, no light one, but it well repays the effort. It bestows in preëminent degree the satisfactory feeling of sharing the labour of thought with a profound and noble intellect. We can observe how in particular cases the thought of the writer has even in the very moulding of his sentence taken a direction different from that he started with, and thus has shifted into inconsistency of expression. See on i. 4. 7; 18. 18; 23. 11; 38. 11; 40. 8; 69. 33; 70. 18; 72. 9; *etc.* It is this occasional divergence from the customary rule that creates the greatest difficulty in following the course of the thought of the writer with intelligence and sympathetic appreciation.[83]

As we could reach no certainty with regard to the end of the life of Thucydides, so the early history of the work he left must remain in darkness. Modern scholars are at variance even as to the form

[82] This may certainly be claimed for the results of modern investigation, though Cicero (*Orat.* 9. 30) could aver: *ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur.*

[83] Dionysius goes to work in just the opposite way in his criticism of Thucydides. Far from submitting modestly to the guidance of the author, he applies the rule of his cut and dried rhetoric to every passage which does not at once satisfy him, and strives to measure all the inequalities of a form of expression which is crammed with thought by the standard of a plain common sense which is utterly devoid of character. See especially his discussion of iii. 82, 83 in 28–33 of the *De Thuc. iud.*

in which the eighth book was left. Some regard the absence of speeches as a proof that its author had not given it its final form: others find this fact sufficiently explained by the character of the events recorded in it. The latter view is probably correct:[84] yet there are many points of style and matter which seem to indicate that the book did not receive the last revision of the author, particularly the fact that it breaks off in the midst of a narrative uncompleted. This, combined with the divergent statements as to the manner and place of the death of the writer, gave occasion even in antiquity to various conjectures, which are recorded by Marcellinus, § 43, 44; as that a daughter of Thucydides wrote the book, or Theopompus, or Xenophon. There is no probability internal or external for any one of these. There may be so much truth as this: that the daughter of Thucydides, after her father's sudden death by an attack of robbers, saved his unfinished work from destruction, and gave it for publication to some person who by his interest or personal position was fitted for the task. The names of Theopompus and Xenophon are evidently mentioned only because each of them was known to have continued the history of Thucydides. Theopompus, indeed, could have been hardly born at the time of the death of Thucydides. As to Xenophon, we read in Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 57, λέγεται ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν. This statement that Xenophon made known to fame the books of Thucydides when he might have suppressed them, may suggest that they were intrusted to him by the historian's daughter: but to treat this as an established fact is to go too far; yet Letronne[85] has done this when, assuming that Xenophon could have published the history of Thucydides only before his own expedition to Asia in 400, he fancies that he has thus secured a fixed limit for the life of Thucydides. Certainty on these points cannot be attained even by the most acute combination.

The division of the work into eight books is founded upon a just consideration of the facts. The first book contains the introduc-

[84] See note 70.

[85] In the *Biographie Universelle* of Michaud, *s.v.* Xenophon, p. 188; and in Didot's Thucyd. I. p. LXVI. ff. This note, however, is omitted in the second edition of Didot's book.

tion proper and all preliminary notices; the second, third, and fourth contain the first nine years of the Archidamian war, three in each; the fifth, the concluding year of the same with the intermediate period of εἰρήνη ὕπουλος; the sixth and seventh, the Sicilian expedition from its hopeful beginning to its disastrous close; the eighth, all that follows this in the Decelean and Ionian wars, so far as the history extends. This division, however, was probably not made by Thucydides himself; for, if it had been, it is not likely that any others would have obtained currency, which Marcellinus, § 58, asserts to have been the case, one division being into thirteen books. It was probably introduced, like similar divisions of other works, in Alexandria, and maintained itself in use from that time on, since Dionysius and other grammarians commonly make use of it. Dionysius is wont also to define particular portions of the work by the number of their lines or στίχοι. For example, the first 87 chapters amount to 2000 στίχοι (*De Thuc. iud.* 10. 5); the proem alone, i. 1–23, to 500 (*ibid.* 19. 1); the reflexions on the Corcyraean sedition, iii. 82, 83, to 100 (*ibid.* 33. 1).[86] We see that the lines of his Ms. contained a number of letters less by about a sixth than those of our ordinary editions. The passages named above contain in Bekker's stereotype edition about 1700, 440, and 85 lines respectively.

[86] On ancient stichometry, see Ritschl, *Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek*, p. 91–110 (*Opuscula Philologica*, p. 173 ff., 190, 828, 830 ff.). More recently the subject has been discussed by Charles Graux, Revue de Philologie, Avril, 1878; and Harris, American Journal of Philology, IV. p. 133 ff., 309 ff.

THUCYDIDES I.

1 . Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πε- 1
λοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε
ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαι-

INTRODUCTION.

Chaps. 1–23.

1. *The Peloponnesian war exceeded in importance all the preceding events of Greek history.*

1. **Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος**: the patrial name is added here, as in v. 26. 2, to designate the author to all the Greeks for whom he writes. So, at the beginning of their respective works, Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος and Ἡρόδοτος Ἁλικαρνασσεύς. When Thuc. mentions his στρατηγία, iv. 104. 15, he gives, as was usual in such cases, his father's name, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου. — **ξυνέγραψε** κτέ.: the aor. in close connexion with ἀρξάμενος . . . καὶ ἐλπίσας κτέ. states that he undertook to compile the history of the war with the full anticipation at the very beginning that it would prove extraordinarily important. To express merely that Thuc. was the author, we should have either the pres. (as Hecataeus has μυθεῖται) or the pf. (as γέγραφε, v. 26. 1). *Cf.* προύγραψα, c. 23. 21; and ἔγραψα, c. 97. 7, with similar reference to the grounds of his writing. — **τὸν πόλεμον . . . Ἀθηναίων**: these words indicated sufficiently for the contemporaries of Thuc. the last great struggle of Athens with the Peloponnesian confederacy. The designation "Peloponnesian war" is not found earlier than Cicero (Peloponnesiacum bellum, *de Rep.* iii. 32) and Diodorus (xii. 37. 2). With the expansion of τὸν πόλεμον in ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, *cf.* γέγραφε καὶ ταῦτα . . . ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο, v. 26. 1. — 3. **ἀρξάμενος . . . καὶ ἐλπίσας**: "commencing the compilation of materials (ξυγγράφειν) immediately at the outset of the war, and expecting," *i.e.* because he expected. The effect and the cause of it are placed coörd., the latter, as more latent, being kept in the background. If ἀπό had been used after ἀρξάμενος, the meaning would have been "embracing in his work the beginning of the war." — 4. **ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων**: the gen. was prob. felt as partitive, though in terms the limited word is excluded from the sphere of the gen. *Cf.* c. 10. 18; 50. 10; viii. 96. 2. For other examples, see Kr. *Spr.* 47, 28, 10; and Kühn. 349 b, 4, who follows Kvičala in thinking that the use of the sup. suggests that various degrees are found within the sphere of the gen.

ρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν 2 ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι

Others explain this usage as only an extension of the comp. gen., which is really a gen. of separation, expressing the standard or point from which an estimate is made. — **τεκμαιρόμενος**: *finding grounds* (see on 12) *for this anticipation*. *Cf.* iii. 53. 8; iv. 123. 7. These grounds are expressed (1) in the obj. sentence **ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε . . . τῇ πάσῃ** (in which it is only euphony that removes **τε** from **ὅτι**); (2) in **καὶ . . . ὁρῶν κτἑ.**, where **ὁρῶν** = **ὅτι ἑώρα**. *Cf.* iv. 116. 2. For **ἦσαν** see App. — **6. παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ**: *cf.* ii. 20. 4, **ἀκμάζοντας νεότητι πολλῇ**. The arrangement of subst., art., adj., in this order, by which stress is thrown on the attribute, is freq. in Thuc. *Cf.* c. 15. 8; 25. 14; 33. 19; 67. 11; ii. 2. 14, *etc.* So Lys. XII. 82, **δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν**. — **τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικόν**: so c. 6. 23; iii. 82. 3; and in ii. 8. 6, **ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς**, including all Hellenic states, even those outside of Greece proper. — **ξυνιστάμενον πρός**: *cf.* c. 15. 10; vi. 85. 17. — 7. **τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον**: *sc.* **ξυνίστασθαι** (*cf.* c. 124. 18; v. 80. 10), *and the rest at least intending it*. Observe that **τὸ διανοούμενον**, expressing the intention of a part, is illogically subordinated to **τὸ ἄλλο . . . πρὸς ἑκατέρους**, which asserts a fact of the whole. Thuc. has in view here not only the neutral states of Greece itself, the Argives and the Achaeans (ii. 9. 4), but also the Greeks of Italy and Sicily.

8. **κίνησις γὰρ κτἑ.**: this gives the reason for the expectation just described, as if he had said, **καὶ εἰκότως ἤλπισε**. *Cf.* c. 120. 3. Thuc. often places a pron. subj., as **αὕτη** here, after a pred. subst. and before a sup. adj. which belongs to it. This position of the subst. gives it a character of generality, with nearly the effect of a part. gen. *Cf.* c. 50. 9; 55. 12; iii. 113. 21; v. 60. 14; vi. 31. 6; with neg., c. 2. 20; and, though somewhat different in structure, vi. 54. 21; vii. 29. 29. So Tac. *Dial.* c. 21, oratio, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est, in qua . . . The sup. rarely stands first, as in c. 98. 8; vii. 75. 38; 85. 17; and the pron. perhaps only in iii. 98. 21. Like **κινεῖσθαι** in iii. 82. 3; iv. 76. 21, **κίνησις** is used here of profound political disturbance. — 9. **τῶν βαρβάρων**: includes Thracians, ii. 29, 101; Macedonians, ii. 100, *etc.*; Epirots, iii. 94 ff.; Sicilian tribes, vi. vii.; and at last the Persians. — **ὡς εἰπεῖν**: so always in Thuc., not **ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν**, as in Plat. and the orators. GMT. 100; H. 956. *Cf.* ii. 51. 7; iii. 38. 29; 39. 25, *etc.* The phrase is used to modify a somewhat extravagant expression. — 10. **ἐπὶ πλεῖστον**: commonly used adv. and abs. *Cf.* c. 2. 19; 3. 6; 70. 17; 138. 13, *etc.* Here with gen. of the whole, *even over the largest part of mankind*, like **ἐς τοῦτο, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ** (vii. 69. 16); and similarly c. 118. 8, **ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως**. Of course these words must be inter-

παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὑρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.

preted by the limited geographical knowledge of the Greeks. See App. — **τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν**: *the preceding events.* Thuc. often uses **αὐτά** of the subject immediately in hand, the matters under discussion. *Cf.* c. 22. 15; 144. 25; ii. 36. 16; 43. 11; vi. 18. 33. Here **αὐτῶν** refers to the events of the Peloponnesian war, and the whole phrase goes back to and includes the Persian wars. See App. — **τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα**: *things yet more ancient,* the earlier occurrences, reported by tradition, and including the Trojan war. Cl. considers that **τὰ Μηδικά** as well as **τὰ Τρωικά** are included under this phrase here, and in c. 3. 1; 20. 1. But Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 535 ff. shows that the expression does not include **τὰ Μηδικά**. In c. 2–17 we have a discussion of **τὰ παλαιά** including the period of the tyrants; in c. 18, 19 of **τὰ Μηδικά** and subsequent events. — In c. 4. 1; 13. 13, we have the form **παλαίτατος**. — **11. εὑρεῖν**: this verb is used by Thuc. of the results of historical inquiry. *Cf.* c. 20. 1; 21. 7; 22. 12; 80. 5, *etc.* — **διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος**: the place of the art. with **πλῆθος** is supplied by the preceding gen., as often. *Cf.* c. 3. 1; 11. 2; 36. 11, *etc.* — **ἀδύνατα**: pred. to **εὑρεῖν**, to which **τὰ . . . παλαιότερα** is obj. *Cf.* c. 59. 4; 125. 5; ii. 72. 16; 74. 5; 97. 29; iii. 88. 4; iv. 1. 13; and see on c. 7. 2. — **12. ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων κτέ.**: *but from the evidence from which, when I push my inquiries to the furthest extent, I find that I reach conviction, I infer that they did not prove important as regards either their wars or their other affairs.* See App. **ἐς τὰ ἄλλα** sums up all other matters than the one specified. *Cf.* c. 6. 15; 36. 13; ii. 53. 1; iii. 36. 26, *etc.*

These **τεκμήρια**, *evidential facts* (the word used by Arist. *Rhet.* i. 2. 16 for such **σημεῖα**, 'facts,' as warrant a sure conclusion), of the superior importance of the Peloponnesian war are the subject-matter of c. 2–19, viz. I., for the period before the Persian wars, **τὰ παλαιότερα**: (a) the want of fixed settlements, c. 2; (b) the want of a central authority, which is indicated by the absence of a collective name for all the Greeks, c. 3; (c) the want of naval power, c. 4–15. § 1; (d) the limitation of military enterprises to border-warfare, c. 15. § 2, 3; (e) the predominance of the Persian power, particularly affecting the Ionians, c. 16; (f) the anxiety of Tyrants not to endanger their power, c. 17. II., for the Persian wars and succeeding events, **τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν**, the short duration of Hellenic union against a common danger, and the consequent formation of the Lacedaemonian and Athenian Hegemonies, which must be regarded merely as a preparation for the Peloponnesian war, c. 18, 19. In c. 20–22 Thuc. contrasts his own method with that of the poets and logographers who have narrated **τὰ παλαιότερα**, and in c. 23 he compares **τὰ Μηδικά** as regards the importance of the events with the Peloponnesian war. For this analysis, which at the end differs from that of Cl., see Herbst, Philol. vol. 38, p. 534 ff.

2 Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι 1
βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ
πρότερα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες,
βιαζόμενοι ὑπό τωων ἀεὶ πλειόνων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας 2
5 οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ
γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι
ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ

2. *It was long before the Greek clans attained even fixity of settlement.*

1. φαίνεται: *it is plain*, placed first for emphasis, and, notwithstanding the change of subject and number, controlling the three partics. *οἰκουμένη, οὖσαι, ἀπολείποντες*, which belong to the impf. GMT. 16, 2; H. 853 a. — **2. τὰ πρότερα**: *in former times*, indicating particular cases better than the more usual *τὸ πρότερον*. So iv. 114. 26. *Cf.* c. 3. 4, *τὰ πρὸ Ἑλληνος*. iii. 54. 9, *τὰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ*. — **4. βιαζόμενοι**: pass. as in c. 77. 15; iii. 94. 11; iv. 10. 15, *etc.* Sh. points out that *βιάζεσθαι* is dep. and pass. alike, except in two tenses, *ἐβιασάμην* (dep.), and *ἐβιάσθην* (pass.). *βιᾶται* = *βιάσεται* is pass. in Plat. *Tim.* 63 b. — **ἀεί**: *from time to time* (the sum of the particular times making up 'always') stands usually *before* an attribute (commonly a partic.). *Cf.* c. 11. 9, 14; ii. 37. 15; iii. 77. 3. But sometimes *after* it. *Cf.* c. 2. 13; iii. 23. 11.

τῆς ἐμπορίας: the art. implies 'such as now exists.' — 5. **οὐκ οὔσης**: = *οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης*. The verb *εἶναι* is often used in this pregnant sense, particularly after a neg. *Cf.* c. 49. 11; 52. 10; ii. 89. 35; vii. 36. 28; 70. 25; viii. 96. 6. — **ἐπιμιγνύντες**: this verb is used with *ἀλλήλοις* or *παρ' ἀλλήλους* (c. 13. 19) in act. intr. or mid. (c. 146. 3; ii. 1. 3; iv. 118. 23) of mutual intercourse. So the subst. *ἐπιμιξία*, v. 35. 3; 78. 3. On compounds with *ἐπί* implying *reciprocity*, *ἐπαλλαγή*, *ἐπιχρῆσθαι* (c. 41. 4), *ἐπιμαχία* (c. 44. 8), *etc.*, see Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, § 174. — **6. διὰ θαλάσσης**: the prep. implies that the sea was not merely the sphere but the helper of the intercourse. — **νεμόμενοί τε**: the *postscript* *τε* is not correlative to the following *καί*, but is used with the third or a later member of an enumeration. *Cf.* 9, *τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν*, without reference to *νεμόμενοί τε*. *Cf.* c. 6. 16; 13. 12, 19; 14. 5; 33. 6; 69. 3; 80. 11; iii. 42. 18. *νέμεσθαι* implies possession and occupation of the soil in any way. Here it is exclusive of the planting of vines, olives, *etc.*, which is expressed by *φυτεύοντες*, and would result from fixity of settlement. — **7. ὅσον ἀποζῆν**: *enough to live upon* = *ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο μόνον ὥστε ἀποζῆν*, quantum satis esset ad vitam sustentandam. *Cf.* iii. 49. 16. GMT. 93, 1, N. 1. — **8. ἄδηλον ὄν**: acc. abs. of impers. phrase (G. 278. 2; H. 973) giving the reason only of the preceding *οὐδὲ . . . φυτεύοντες*, and followed by the fut. indic. of the dir. disc., as in viii. 96. 7. — **8. καὶ . . . ἅμα**: not a simple copula, but, like *ἄλλως τε καί*, introducing a specially important circumstance. *Cf.* c. 9. 16, 20; 14. 13; 64. 14; 102. 11; iii. 61. 4. On the combination of partics. abs.

γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὂν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς 3 γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη ἀεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα. διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἵ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους 4

and concordant, see GMT. 111. — **ἀτειχίστων ὄντων**: *since they had yet no walled towns.* Thuc. often uses the gen. abs. without an expressed subj. when it can easily be supplied from the connexion, or when, as here, it is of indefinite application. *Cf.* c. 3. 8; 73. 24. GMT. 110, 1, N. 2; H. 972 a. — 10. **ἀναγκαίου**: only here in Thuc. of two terminations; for in vii. 60. 24, ἐξ ἀναγκαίου is adv. Often so in Plato. — **πανταχοῦ . . . ἐπικρατεῖν**: ἄν belongs to ἐπικρατεῖν, = ἐπικρατοῖεν ἄν. **πανταχοῦ**, *anywhere.* — 11. **οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο**: *they changed their abodes without difficulty*, the adv. having the same subjective meaning as ῥᾳδίως in 3. These words state the result of all the preceding clauses, only **ἄδηλον ὂν . . . ἀφαιρήσεται** being specially subord. to *οὐ φυτεύοντες.* — **δι' αὐτό**: this pron. often in Thuc. refers to the preceding statement. *Cf.* c. 18. 10; 32. 14; 68. 3, and see on c. 1. 10. — 12. **οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ**: **σκευή**, the equipment, dress, *etc.*, of individuals (in vi. 94. 18, of horses); **κατασκευή**, the furniture of houses, ships, *etc.*, and sometimes their construction, as Plat. *Gorg.* 455 b; **παρασκευή**, the equipment of military forces, supplies, *etc.*; here opp. to **μέγεθος πόλεων**, the number of the population; and, as **παρασκευή** is not included in this, **ἄλλη** must be rendered *in general* or *any at all.* G. 142, 2, N. 3; H. 705.

τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη: this assimilation of the articular adj. to the gender of the part. gen. occurs in Thuc. in c. 5. 8; 30. 10; vi. 7. 5; viii. 3. 5, and is freq. in Plat., *e.g. Phaed.* 104 a, **ὁ ἥμισυς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ**. G. 168, N. 1; H. 730 e; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 28, 9; Kühn. 405, 5 c. — 13. **εἶχεν**: nearly = ἔτασχεν. *Cf.* vi. 17. 9; viii. 86. 15. — 14. **ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία κτέ.**: the districts indicated by Thuc. are those of the chief plains and river-valleys, *e.g.* of the Peneus, Cephissus, Inachus, Eurotas, Pamisus, Alpheus. **νῦν καλουμένη** is to be repeated with **Βοιωτία**. These words indicate merely that these districts in the earliest times had no common names. *Cf.* 1, above.

16. **ἀρετήν**: *fertility.* *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 198. 1, **δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναί τις ἡ Λιβύη σπουδαίη, ὥστε ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι.** — **τισι**: the indef. pron. is used purposely to include the districts as well as their inhabitants; since at this early stage of development **πόλεις** would be inapplicable. **δυνάμεις** is pl. in reference to the various

ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. τὴν γοῦν 5
Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστα-
20 σίαστον οὖσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. καὶ παρά- 6
δειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοι-
κήσεις τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης
Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναί-
ους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὂν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖ-
25 ται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν

districts. *Cf.* c. 10. 17; iii. 62. 12. — 17. **ἐφθείροντο**: *dwindled*; *φθείρεσθαι* (*φθίνειν*) opp. to *αὐξάνεσθαι*. — 18. **ἐπεβουλεύοντο**: pers. pass. from intr. act. *Cf.* *ἐφορμεῖσθαι*, c. 142. 19; *πολεμοῦνται*, c. 37. 3. G. 197, 1; H. 819; Kühn. 378, 7. — **γοῦν**: *at any rate*; introduces an argument which, though of limited scope, is highly illustrative; here a seeming exception which confirms the previous statement. Kühn. 508, 2 a. — 19. **ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον**: *from the remotest period*, *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* being a complete adv. *Cf.* c. 71. 3; 82. 20; ii. 35. 20; v. 46. 9; vi. 54. 20. The words apply to the partic. as well as to the verb. — **διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων**: "It was stony, deficient in water, adapted chiefly to the cultivation of barley, and everywhere needing labour and regulated industry." E. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, I. p. 322. Thuc. often uses a neut. adj. or partic. for an abstract subst. *Cf.* c. 6. 7; 36. 3; 39. 6; 68. 1; 69. 14; 76. 20; 84. 1.

20. **καὶ παράδειγμα . . . αὐξηθῆναι**: on the order of the first words, see on c. 1. 8. *τοῦ λόγου* refers to the statement of the evil effects of frequent migration on the growth of states, and is repeated in the words *διὰ τὰς . . . αὐξηθῆναι*. *τόδε* refers to the following sentence introduced by *γάρ*, as in c. 3. 2; Hdt. vii. 221. 1, *μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μοῦναν κτέ.* The 'proof from example,' *παράδειγμα*, of the above proposition consists in the fact that Attica not merely retained its old inhabitants, but grew at the expense of other states by constantly receiving accessions of powerful citizens who were forced by war or faction to leave their old homes. Note the position of *ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος* at the head of its clause with direct reference to *τὰ ἄλλα* preceding. See App. — 24. **οἱ δυνατώτατοι**: as appos. to *οἱ . . . ἐκπίπτοντες* restricts the whole to the designated part. *Cf.* c. 13. 18; 18. 22. — **ὡς βέβαιον ὄν**: *thinking that there was security there.* Schol. *ὡς βεβαίας οὔσης τῆς οἰκήσεως.* *Cf.* 8, *ἄδηλον ὄν.* But Cl. takes *βέβαιον* as referring to the country, in a kind of appos. to *Ἀθηναίους*, and so governed by the continued influence of *παρά*, as in c. 91. 20. — 25. **γιγνόμενοι**: partic. impf. to indicate the repetition of such occurrences, like *ἐκπίπτοντες*, 23; the effect of the whole is expressed in the aor. *μείζω ἐποίησαν*, to which the phrase *εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ* (*cf.* v. 44. 8) belongs. — **ἔτι**: *i.e.* still

πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

3 Δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ 1
ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ τοὔ- 2
5 νομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι, Ἕλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ'

more than was implied by the words τὰ ἄλλα . . . αὐξηθῆναι. — 26. ἐς Ἰωνίαν: proleptic for ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν καλουμένην. — 27. ἐξέπεμψαν: *sc.* οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

3. *It was long before there was any bond of union or even a common name.*

1. τῶν παλαιῶν: neut. *Cf.* c. 11. 16; 20. 1. — ἀσθένειαν: for omission of art., see on c. 1. 11. *Cf.* iii. 58. 15. — οὐχ ἥκιστα: = μάλιστα. *Cf.* c. 23. 16; 35. 7; 60. 8. — 3. δοκεῖ δέ μοι κτέ.: observe the irregularity of the const.; εἶχεν, 4, first causes δοκεῖ to be taken parenthetically; then the infs. εἶναι, 5, παρέχεσθαι, 7, καλεῖσθαι, 10, are under the influence of δοκεῖ, which must be taken pers. with ἡ ἐπίκλησις and with ἄλλα τε . . . τὸ Πελασγικόν, but impers. with καλεῖσθαι, as the acc. Ἕλληνας shows; and finally οὐ μέντοι . . . ἐκνικῆσαι, 11, is fully independent. See App. — οὐδέ πω: *i.e.* πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν. — 5. καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ . . . αὕτη: *this appellation had not even any existence at all.* For πάνυ οὐ, *cf.* Hdt. vii. 12. 3, πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι. Plat. *Prot.* 338 e, ὁ Πρωταγόρας πάνυ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἤθελεν. ἐπίκλησις, not the original name but the added designation. *Cf.* vii. 68. 11. — 6. κατὰ ἔθνη: there being no distributive numerals in Greek, the want of them is supplied by κατά (ἀνά, εἰς) with acc., to represent any case. See Kühn. 181, note 3. *Cf.* other cases where a numeral with a prep. (εἰς, περί) is construed as a single word. Kühn. 351, 3; Kr. *Spr.* 60, 8, 1. Here κατὰ ἔθνη = singulae gentes gives the mode of action of ἄλλα . . . Πελασγικόν, which is subj. of δοκεῖ. παρέχεσθαι, as well as εἶναι and καλεῖσθαι, is inf. impf. GMT. 15, 3; H. 853 a. After παρέχεσθαι supply τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλουμένῃ. — 8. τῶν παίδων: Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, who was father of Ion. — ἰσχυσάντων: *having become powerful.* GMT. 19, N. 1; H. 841. *Cf.* c. 9. 21. This *ingressive* use is nearly confined to the first aor. — ἐπαγομένων: *men inviting them in.* The subj. is implied in τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. See on c. 2. 9. GMT. 110, 1, N. 2; H. 972 a. And for the partic. impf., see on c. 2. 25. This verb is regularly used of the inviting of strangers into one's

ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας,
οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἐδύνατο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνι-
κῆσαι. τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος· πολλῷ γὰρ ὕστε- 3
ρον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμ-
παντας ὠνόμασεν οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ
τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δα-
ναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνα-
καλεῖ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἴρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδ' Ἕλλη-
νάς πω, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐς ἓν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρί-

country. *Cf.* c. 104. 5; 114. 6; ii. 2. 12. Plat. *Menex.* 243 b, **ὥστε τολμῆσαι . . . ἰδίᾳ τοῦτον πάλιν ἐπάγεσθαι, βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ἕλληνας.** — 9. **καθ' ἑκάστους . . . ἐκνικῆσαι**: **μᾶλλον** (of progressive increase, *cf.* c. 8. 11) belongs to **καλεῖσθαι**, and the subj. of **ἐδύνατο** is **τὸ καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας**. *The clans* (which had hitherto borne separate names) *came one by one by reason of this intercourse more and more to be called Hellenes, though it was a good while before this tendency was able to win its way actually over the whole of them.* Phthiotis in Thessaly is regarded as the earliest seat of Hellenic life and the starting-point of the subsequent Hellenic states. Though Thuc. holds to the personal existence of Hellen and his sons, he practically treats them, in the modern way, as merely the personification of the various branches of the race. — 12. **τεκμηριοῖ**: used by Thuc. alone of Att. writers. *Cf.* c. 9. 24; iii. 104. 38; in each case of Homer's evidence. The word is common in the writers of the **κοινὴ διάλεκτος**.

13. **καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν**: therefore the statement will hold *a fortiori* of earlier times. — **τοὺς ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν**: *sc.* **Ἕλληνας**. — 14. **τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως**: *cf.* Hom. B 684. — 16. **ἀνακαλεῖ**: *cf.* vii. 69. 10; 70. 49, where the verb is used of appealing to one by name, *gives them the distinctive name.* — **τοῖς ἔπεσι**: **τὰ ἔπη**, used only of verses or poetic expressions. *Cf.* ii. 41. 14; 54. 4; iii. 67. 31; 104. 20, 29. — 17. **οὐ μὴν οὐδέ**: the neg. expression corresponding to the positive **οὐ μὴν (μέντοι) ἀλλά**, *yet this is not all; neither* or *nor yet again* has he used the name **βάρβαροι**. *Cf.* c. 82. 1; ii. 97. 32; vi. 55. 12. — **βαρβάρους**: Thuc. takes no notice of the epith. **βαρβαρόφωνοι**, Hom. B 867, which is applied to the Carians only. — **εἴρηκε**: pf. regularly of written testimony which is at hand. *Cf.* c. 9. 24, 25; 10. 22; 13. 20; 21. 3. In 14 the aor. **ὠνόμασε** with **οὐδαμοῦ**, *in no passage*, is an historical statement of fact. — 18. **ἀντίπαλον**: acc. of inner obj. with **ἀποκεκρίσθαι**, *to have undergone an opposite separation.* Eustath., on Hom. B 867, takes the word in agreement with **ὄνομα**, but the position is against this structure. Cl. regards it as an adv. like **τοὐναντίον, τἀναντία**. But this is improbable, as the art. is not used; and the passages referred to, vi. 23. 1; vii. 34. 23, are better explained as above. — **ἀποκεκρίσθαι**: *cf.* iv. 72. 22; Hdt. i. 60. 13, **ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν**.

σθαι. οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι 4
ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐ-
δὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων
ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσσῃ 5
ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνεξῆλθον.

4 Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν 1
ἐκτήσατο καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἦρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς
πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς
5 ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τό τε λῃστικόν, ὡς
εἰκός, καθῆρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο, τοῦ

19. οἱ δ' οὖν . . . κληθέντες: δ' οὖν resumes an argument after a long digression (*cf.* c. 10. 33; 63. 4; ii. 5. 28; 34. 21; vi. 15. 20; 56. 1; viii. 81. 18), particularly when after a statement that may be doubted an unquestionable fact is to be adduced. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 52, 2. The art. *οἱ* belongs to *κληθέντες*, to which Ἕλληνες is the pred. noun or complement. *ὡς ἕκαστοι, severally and in succession, sc. ἐκλήθησαν* (Kühn. 555, note 15, p. 921; Kr. *Spr.* 69, 63, 7). *Cf.* c. 15. 12; 48. 11; 67. 13; iii. 107. 24; iv. 32. 7; v. 4. 8; vii. 65. 6. This is explained by *κατὰ πόλεις τε . . . ξύμπαντες. But however this may be, those who were called Hellenes severally and in succession, whether they were so city by city according as they were mutually intelligible, or at a later time collectively.* — *ξυνιέναι* with gen. here only in Thuc. *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 113. 1, *οὐ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων.* — **21. ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων**: *cf.* Plat. *Legg.* 854 c, *τὰς τῶν κακῶν ξυνουσίας φεύγε.* — **23. πλείω**: acc. of inner obj., as with *ὠφελεῖν*, ii. 60. 5; with *βλάπτειν*, vi. 33. 17. *But even this expedition was undertaken by them, because they were now getting greater familiarity with the sea.* *στρατείαν* is construed as in c. 15. 8. See App.

Before proceeding to treat of the Trojan war, c. 8. 16, the mention of the sea here leads Thuc. to discuss the slow development of maritime enterprise among the Greeks.

4. *The first naval power was established by Minos, who endeavoured to clear the sea of pirates.*

1. παλαίτατος: *at the earliest time. Cf.* c. 13. 12. — **2. ἐκτήσατο**: this and the following aors., *ἐκράτησε, ἦρξε*, of the establishment of his rule, as *ἰσχυσάντων*, c. 3. 8, while the impf. *καθῆρει*, 6, describes the gradual extension of his influence. — **θαλάσσης**: depends on *ἐκράτησε*, not on *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, which is adv., as in c. 3. 6. — **3. οἰκιστὴς . . . ἐγένετο**: see on c. 35. 12. *οἰκίζειν* implies the founding of political order, which is not conceived as existing under the barbarous Carians. — **5. παῖδας**: their traditional names were Catreus, Deucalion, Androgeus. See Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, I. p. 82. — **τό τε**: *τε* freq. has the sense of 'and consequently,' like *que* in Latin (*inferential τε*). *Cf.* c. 5. 19; 92. 6; 98. 8. — **6. καθῆρει**: used of the violent

τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ 1
πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραθα-
λάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον
περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς λη-
στείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων κέρδους
τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς, καὶ
προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰ-

overthrow of an existing state of things or a predominant person. *Cf.* c. 16. 4; iii. 13. 33; iv. 85. 7; v. 14. 14; vi. 11. 13. So also in c. 13. 22, of the abolition of piracy; and the addition of ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης is like τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, c. 18. 11. Therefore Cobet's conjecture, ἐκάθηρεν (*Variae Lectiones*, p. 149), is needless, and is also inconsistent with the following ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο. — τοῦ . . . ἰέναι αὐτῷ: the gen. of the inf. is freq. in Thuc. to express purpose, usually with μή. *Cf.* c. 23. 22; ii. 22. 4; 75. 3; 93. 24, *etc.* Without μή only here and viii. 39. 25. *Cf.* Dem. XXIV. 36, 133. GMT. 95, 1; H. 960; Kühn. 478, 4 c. The gen. seems one of 'relation to,' and is to be compared with the gerundive const. of Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59, Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. See Kühn. *Lat. Gram.* II. 132, note 3 c. For the dat. with ἰέναι, ἐλθεῖν, see on c. 13. 12. The form αὐτῷ shows that the remark is a suggestion made by Thuc. himself in accordance with εἰκός, whereas αὑτῷ would have represented the purpose as conceived by Minos.

5. *Previously piracy was general, and was not looked upon as disgraceful.*

1. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες κτέ.: before describing the effects of Minos's efforts, to which Thuc. returns in c. 8. 7, he indicates the prevalence of piracy in the earliest times. Among the barbarians referred to are the Phoenicians, the Carians, and probably the Epirots. — **4. ἐπ' ἀλλήλους**: ἐπί is not used here in a hostile sense. Even in military matters the meaning depends on the context. *Cf.* iv. 43. 3; v. 4. 23; vii. 56. 23. For distinctly friendly intercourse παρά is used. *Cf.* c. 13. 19; v. 78. 4. — **5. ἡγουμένων . . . τροφῆς**: on the position of ἀνδρῶν and κέρδους, see on c. 1. 6. By its position οὐ suggests the contrary of the term it negatives by a sort of litotes, = τῶν δυνατωτάτων. See on c. 78. 1, οὐ περὶ βραχέων, and *cf.* iii. 67. 7. The δυνατοί (*cf.* c. 2. 24) are those eminent for wealth and influence: at a more advanced stage of society the term is often applied to the ruling party as opposed to the δῆμος. οἱ ἀσθενεῖς are those without means, the "feeble persons" of Psalm cv. 37. *Cf.* [Dem.] XLV. 67, συμφέρει . . . τὸν ἀσθενῆ παρὰ τοῦ πλουσίου δίκην, ἂν ἀδικῆται, δύνασθαι λαβεῖν. For the dat. with the subst. τροφῆς, see G. 185; H. 765 a; Kühn. 424, 1. When ἕνεκα stands with two or more gens., Thuc. places it after the first. *Cf.* c. 7. 4; 30. 16; 41. 16; 57. 11: 73. 17, *etc.* — **7. πόλεσιν**: used here in its political sense of associated communities, not of local cities. — **κατὰ κώμας**: as the Aetolians are described, iii. 94. 20. Such was the constant condition of Sparta. *Cf.* c. 10. 12. —

κουμέναις ἤρπαζον καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε 2 ἠπειρωτῶν τινες, ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, ὡς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων. ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ 3

8. **τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου**: see on c. 2. 12. *βίος* here only in Thuc. in sense of victus, *their living*. — 9. **ἔχοντος**: like *φέροντος* in 10, or *παρέχοντος*, *bringing with it, implying*. *Cf.* ii. 61. 9; iv. 108. 29; 126. 23; vii. 75. 35. — 10. **τι δόξης**: aliquid famae. *Cf.* ii. 49. 30, *τι δυνάμεως*. iii. 44. 6; iv. 28. 23; vii. 69. 12. With this rather rare combination, *cf.* *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμεως*, c. 17. 6; *ἐπὶ μέγα ἰσχύος*, ii. 97. 24; *ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης*, c. 50. 6; *ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας*, vii. 55. 4; *ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη εὐδαιμονίας*, Plat. *Apol.* 41 c. Arist. *Pol.* i. 8. 8 (1256 b 2), groups the *λῃστρικὸς βίος* with the *νομαδικός*, *γεωργικός*, *ἁλιευτικός*, *θηρευτικός*, as in the earliest times a recognized means of gaining a living.

10. **δηλοῦσι**: the statements of the preceding paragraph are the obj., as in c. 3. 12, in case of *τεκμηριοῖ*. — 11. **ἠπειρωτῶν**: strictly a common noun; but with chief reference to the inhabitants of Epirus and the neighbouring districts, which even to recent times have been noted for brigandage. — **ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἷς**: see App. — **κόσμος**: means here, c. 32. 15; iv. 17. 4, *adornment, honour*. Elsewhere in Thuc. *good order, discipline*. — **καλῶς . . . δρᾶν**: *καλῶς*, *dexterously*, with good results. *Cf.* v. 52. 4; viii. 50. 25. *τοῦτο* (or *αὐτὸ*) *δρᾶν* is the regular expression in referring to an action just described. *Cf.* c. 6. 22; 69. 7; 131. 15; ii. 49. 23; v. 49. 20; vi. 83. 4; vii. 68. 14; 83. 3. — 12. **τὰς πύστεις . . . ἐρωτῶντες**: *putting the regular questions on all occasions alike to those who touched at their coasts*. The art. implies what was likely under the circumstances, as in c. 2. 13, *τὰς μεταβολάς*. The rare word *πύστις* occurs, in the sense of 'information gained by inquiry,' also in c. 136. 6; iii. 82. 20. The acc. is cognate (G. 159; H. 715), and the gen. partic. limits it objectively. The poets are said to ask, in that they make their characters do so. With this Sh. compares Plat. *Theaet.* 181 a, *τοὺς ῥέοντας*, 'those who teach the doctrine of flux and motion,' and Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 62, circumdat . . . erigit = circumdari . . . erigi canit (Silenus). Mart. iv. 14. 3. It is probable from *πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως* that Thuc. was acquainted with other notices of such questions than those we find in Hom. *γ* 73; *ι* 252; *Hymn. in Apoll.* 452. — 14. **ὡς οὔτε . . . ὀνειδιζόντων**: *ὡς* gives the view of the poets, *implying that*. The two partics. belong to the impf., with subjects to be supplied from the two rel. clauses. The attraction of the neg. to *ὀνειδιζόντων* (for *οὔτε τούτων οἷς*) has the effect of rendering more vivid the disclaimer of reproach. The in-

κατ' ἤπειρον ἀλλήλους, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ ἤπειρον. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας ἐμμεμένηκε.

6 Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, ὥσπερ

dic. πυνθάνονται implies that the question was as a matter of form always asked; the opt. εἴη that there might or might not be persons who would care to know. For a similar change of mood, *cf.* Xen. *An.* i. 9. 27, ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη (as it might or might not be), αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδύνατο (as he naturally was at all times) παρασκευάσασθαι. *Ages.* 11. 3, ἐμίσει δὲ οὐκ εἴ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἠμύνετο (as it was natural he should), ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο (as might possibly be the case). Dem. XVIII. 239, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματα ἔδει δέχεσθαι. In iv. 67. 9, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἦν εἰδέναι, the reference is entirely definite. So in Hdt. ii. 150. 6, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δή μοι ἦν.

17. **τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ**: in the way just depicted, in reference to frequent changes of abode and to the habit of living by robbery; which latter is not excluded by the words ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας in 20; for in both places it is implied that what existed in the old time continued down to the present. — **νέμεται**: pass. of the mid. νέμεσθαι (c. 2. 6). G. 199, N. 3; H. 819 d; Kühn. 378, 9. *Cf.* c. 6. 5. — **περί**: of a geographical designation without defined limits. *Cf.* c. 14. 7; ii. 47. 10; 86. 2. — 19. **τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι**: τε, *and so.* *Cf.* c. 4. 5. Cl. thinks the mid. form is here preferred because its subjective character is appropriate to personal subjects (*cf.* φέρεσθαι), whereas in c. 6. 1 the act. is used of the country. Arist., *Pol.* ii. 8. 19, also has ἐσιδηροφοροῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. But the verb is more probably here in the pass. used impers. (see on c. 46. 1), *the practice of bearing arms.*

6. *Wherefore in early times the habit of bearing arms was general in Greece, which the Athenians first abandoned for a more luxurious, the Lacedaemonians for a simpler gear.*

1. **τὰς . . . ἐφόδους**: the single art. includes the two elements of their insecure life. *Cf.* τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, c. 54. 4; c. 120. 10; ii. 35. 19; 71. 22; iii. 2. 6. — 3. **τὴν δίαιταν . . . ἐποιήσαντο**: by the resolution of the verb διαιτᾶσθαι into δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι (on the equivalence of such a periphrasis to a simple verb, see Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, p. 257; Kühn. 411, 4; and see on c. 34. 11) the pred. adj. ξυνήθη takes the place of the adv. ξυνήθως. *Cf.* c. 23. 3, ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε. μεθ' ὅπλων is placed after the noun whose verbal idea it serves to define. *Cf.* τὴν . . . κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, c. 18. 11; c. 110. 15. On the free position of attribs. in Thuc., see on c. 11. 19. The aor. ἐποιήσαντο sums up the historical results of the previous remarks (*com-*

οἱ βάρβαροι. σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι 2
οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαι-
τημάτων. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον 3
κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον
μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων
διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε
λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει
κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ' οὗ
καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ

plexive aor., GMT. 19, N. 2). — **4. ταῦτα . . . νεμόμενα**: *i.e.* τὸ ταῦτα νέμεσθαι, *the fact that these districts* (c. 5. 17) *of Hellas are still occupied in this way.* See on c. 100. 17. — **5. ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων**: as by ὁμοίως with πάντες, so here by the adj. with ἐς is implied the widest extension; *of the existence of similar modes of life formerly among all without exception.* διαιτήματα are special forms of δίαιτα.

6. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δέ: the words preceding δέ are practically one phrase, so that the conj. only apparently occupies the fourth place. The formula ἐν τοῖς with a sup. occurs nine times in Thuc.: iii. 82. 2; vii. 19. 19; 24. 12; 27. 12; 71. 19; viii. 68. 23; 89. 13; 90. 4. Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 345 ff., explains it rather as restrictive of the sup. than as intensifying it; *i.e.* ἐν τοῖς is used when the writer wishes to suggest not absolute preëminence, but prominence among competitors who may be on a par. H. 652; Kühn. 349 b. 7, p. 27. — **7. ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ**: the dat. being merely one of respect with the verb, and having a pred. partic., has nearly the effect of a gen. abs.; *when their mode of life had once relaxed from its old severity, they adopted habits of greater luxury.* *Cf.* ii. 100. 25. — **8. αὐτοῖς**: the dat. placed thus early in the sentence stands in the most general relation to the whole, *among them.* *Cf.* c. 48. 9. — **9. οὐ πολὺς . . . φοροῦντες**: *i.e.* οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἔτι ἐφόρουν, "till quite recent times they still wore"; and so διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον, *on account of the spread of delicate habits,* gives the reason of their maintaining these fashions, not of their leaving them off. For this use of ἐπειδή, *since,* *cf.* 20; iii. 68. 31; viii. 68. 27. On the long linen tunics, which were peculiarly Ionian, and were later superseded by shorter ones of wool, see Becker, *Charicles,* p. 414, Eng. Trans. Thuc. assumes the early fashion to have spread from Athens to Ionia, and not the reverse. — **10. καὶ χρυσῶν . . . τριχῶν**: the mode of wearing the hair in a knot on the top of the head with the insertion of a pin in the form of a cicada must have been as characteristic a mark of antiquated manners as the use of a queue or pigtail with us. *Cf.* Ar. *Eq.* 1331, τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός, and *Nub.* 984, ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα. ἐνέρσει, from ἐνείρειν, a word probably formed by Thuc., and occurring again only in late writers. — **12. τὸ ξυγγενές**: *i.e.* τὴν ξυγγένειαν. See on c. 2. 19.

πολὺ αὖτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε. μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ 4
ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ
ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι
ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι 5
καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι
ἠλείψαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι δια-
ζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο,
καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς πυγμῆς
καὶ πάλης ἆθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι.
πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλλη- 6
νικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον.

—13. **ἡ σκευή**: see on c. 2. 12. — **κατέσχε**: aor. of the historical fact, not descriptive (*κατεῖχε*). — **καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον**: *sc.* *οὔσῃ*, a second attrib. to *ἐσθῆτι, and conforming to the present mode.* — 14. **πρῶτοι ἐχρήσαντο**: *were the first to adopt;* aor. as in c. 3. 8. — **καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα . . . κατέστησαν**: *and as to the rest of their habits, the wealthier of them fell into a style of living pretty nearly on a par with that of the mass of the people.* *τὰ μείζω* for the more usual *τὰ πλείω*, perhaps because land formed the basis of wealth at Sparta.

16. **τε**: *and so also.* *Cf.* c. 4. 5; 5. 19. — 17. **ἐς τὸ φανερόν**: adv. to *ἀποδύντες*, giving the pregnant meaning, *stripping and coming forward publicly.* *Cf.* ii. 4. 15, *χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν.* — **λίπα**: *with oil*, adv. with *ἠλείψαντο*, as often in Hom.: Κ 577; Ξ 171; Σ 350; γ 466; ζ 96; κ 364. It is probably a mutilated instrumental or dat. case. — **μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι**: *on occasion of their gymnastic exercise.* *Cf.* v. 25. 12, *μετ' ἀνοκωχῆς οὐ βεβαίου.* Kühn. 439, 1. The phrase belongs to both the verbs. — 18. **τὸ δὲ πάλαι . . . ἠγωνίζοντο**: the stress of the statement lies on the partic., = *διαζώματα εἶχον ἀγωνιζόμενοι.* Eustath., on Hom. Ψ 638, and Dion. Hal. vii. 72 say that the runners at the Olympic games left off the girdle first in Ol. 15., B.C. 720; but it may be assumed that Thuc. here means that the contestants in other contests did not disuse it till much later. — 20. **πέπαυται**: *sc.* *τὸ διαζώματα ἔχοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, the practice has ceased.* But Reiske and Ullrich prefer *πέπαυνται.* — **ἔτι δὲ καὶ κτέ.**: *ἔτι* belongs to *νῦν*, *ἐν* to the two following dats., which are separated to lay stress on each. The two clauses *ἆθλα τίθεται . . . δρῶσι* are arranged in parataxis, though the former is in sense subord., = *ὅταν ἆθλα τιθῆται, οἱ ἀθληταὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι, i.e. ἀγωνίζονται.* See on c. 5. 11. On *βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς*, = *βαρβάρων ἐνίοις*, see G. 152, N. 2; H. 998; Kühn. 554, 5. — 23. **πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα**: acc. of inner obj. to *διαιτώμενον* (G. 159; H. 715), with *ὁμοιότροπα* as its pred. adj., with adv. meaning. *Cf.* vii. 77. 9.

7 Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν καὶ 1
ἤδη πλοϊμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι
χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο, καὶ
τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς
πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ
τὴν λῃστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλ-
λον ᾠκίσθησαν, αἵ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις
(ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ
θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνῳκισμέναι
8 εἰσί. καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον λῃσταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται Κᾶρές τε 1
ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων

7. *The practice also of settling in towns at a distance from the coast was general.*

2. **πλοϊμωτέρων ὄντων**: the gen. abs. of neut. pl. of adj. used impers., *when navigation was safer*. *Cf.* iv. 20. 5, **ὄντων ἀκρίτων**. This use of neut. pl. of adj. is freq. in Thuc. *Cf.* **ἀδύνατα**, c. 1. 11; **ἑτοῖμα**, ii. 3. 15; 56. 4; **ἄορα**, iii. 16. 11; particularly of verbals: **παριτητέα**, c. 72. 4; **πολεμητέα**, c. 88. 2. Kühn. 366. Except here and in c. 8. 8 **πλόιμος** in Thuc. = 'seaworthy.' *Cf.* c. 29. 14; 50. 17, *etc.* — **περιουσίας . . . ἐκτίζοντο**: *cf.* c. 2. 7. The pl. of the abstract noun in reference to several subjects. So c. 8. 15. — 3. **ἐκτίζοντο κτέ.**: in the prot. (**ὅσαι . . . ᾠκίσθησαν**) the **πόλεις** are conceived as existing; here their origin is stated, and so the impf. In **ἀπελάμβανον** and **ἕκαστοι** the personality of the settlers implied in **πόλεις** is fully brought out. This verb implies the occupation of an isthmus from sea to sea. *Cf.* iv. 45. 7; vii. 60. 9. — 4. **ἕνεκα**: see on c. 5. 6. — 6. **ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν**: *long maintaining its existence*, attrib. to **λῃστείαν**. For its position, see on c. 11. 19; and *cf.* c. 6. 3; for the meaning, *cf.* ii. 64. 26; vi. 69. 9; vii. 71. 26. This aor. partic. and **ᾠκίσθησαν** sum up the results of the previous state of things (*cf.* c. 6. 3, 13), while the pf. in 9 states the still existing result. — **ἀπὸ θαλάσσης**: *at a distance from the sea*. In this sense some print **ἄπο**. But see Kühn. 86, 1, note 1; Göttling, *Accentlehre*, 380. — 7. **καὶ ἐν ταῖς**: without repetition of *αἱ*. *Cf.* iv. 25. 6; 45. 10; 85. 16; vii. 7. 1. — 8. **ἔφερον**: *plundered*, in the sense of the usual **φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν** (Hdt. vi. 42. 7; Dem. iv. 34), recurs in Polyb. *Cf.* Eur. *Hec.* 804, **θεῶν ἱερὰ τολμῶσιν φέρειν**. The subj. is **οἱ λῃστεύοντες**. — 9. **ἀνῳκισμέναι**: = **ἄνω ᾠκισμέναι**. *Cf.* c. 58. 13; viii. 31. 8. See App.

8. *It was only with the gradual suppression of piracy that the Greek states increased in stability and magnitude.*

1. **οὐχ ἧσσον**: *i.e.* to a still greater extent than the Greeks. *Cf.* c. 74. 17; 82. 19, *etc.* — **οἱ νησιῶται**: here exclusive of the Greeks, who are mentioned as islanders in c. 7. 7, and resuming the notice of the barbarians in c. 4. 4; 5. 3. The piratical habits of the Phoenicians are mentioned in Hom. ξ 288; ο 415. The words **Κᾶρές τε . . . Φοίνικες** are added to account for the

ᾤκησαν. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ
Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθει-
σῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ
Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων
ξυντεθαμμένῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσι. κατα- 2
στάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοϊμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ'
ἀλλήλους (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε περ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατῴκιζε), καὶ 3
οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν
χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ᾤκουν, καί τινες καὶ

previous statement. — 3. **ᾤκησαν**: *inhabited*, the aor., as in c. 7. 7, referring collectively to all the occupants of the islands to the time of Minos, who **οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων** [**νήσων**] **ἐγένετο**, c. 4. 3. — **μαρτύριον δέ** (only of the last remark, **οὗτοι . . . ᾤκησαν**) · **Δήλου γάρ**: *cf.* the fuller expressions in c. 2. 20; 3. 1. Here only is *μαρτύριον* so used: but **τεκμήριον** in ii. 15. 20; 39. 10; 50. 7; iii. 66. 1. This purification took place in the sixth year of the war, B.C. 426. *Cf.* iii. 104. — **καθαιρομένης κτέ.**: the pres. partic. expresses the whole course of the cleansing, the aor. **ἀναιρεθεισῶν** a particular incident of it. The verb **ἀναιρεῖν** is used also in iii. 104. 6 and v. 1. 6 of the removal of the **θῆκαι**, which must mean movable *coffins*, which were taken away with their contents (not 'graves,' as in iii. 58. 15). — 5. **ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ**: see on c. 3. 6. = **πλείονες τῶν ἡμίσεων**. — 6. **τῇ σκευῇ**: see on c. 2. 12. Hdt., i. 171. 14, says the Carians first made use of helmet-plumes, and attached devices and handles to shields. — 7. **ξυντεθαμμένῃ**: attrib. to *σκευῇ*. *Cf.* c. 7. 6. See on c. 11. 19. — **τῷ τρόπῳ**: referring to the position (unknown) of the corpses, as Plut. *Sol.* 10. § 4 uses this expression when he says **θάπτουσι Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἕω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν**. The Schol. says that the Phoenicians **ποιεῖν ὁρᾶν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπὶ δύσιν**, but Thuc. is here speaking of the Carians.

καταστάντος δὲ κτέ.: resumes the account from c. 4. — 8. **πλοϊμώτερα**: see on c. 7. 2. The neut. pl. with **γίγνεσθαι**, also ii. 10. 5; iv. 108. 9; viii. 55. 8. — **παρ' ἀλλήλους**: as if, instead of the impers. expression, **ἐπεραιοῦντο** or **ἐπεμίγνυσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες** had preceded. — 9. **ἐκ τῶν νήσων**: attached proleptically to the subj., through the influence of **ἀνέστησαν**, *were expelled*. G. 191, N. 6; H. 788 a; Kr. *Spr.* 50, 8, 10; Kühn. 448 (attraction of prep.). *Cf.* c. 18. 1; ii. 80. 7; iii. 5. 1, *etc.* — 10. **ὅτε περ**: *just when*, or *when, that is*. *Cf.* Hdt. v. 99. 6. **κατῴκιζε** (impf. of repeated action), like **οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο**, c. 4. 3, denotes the introduction of permanent civil order.

καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν . . . ᾤκουν: a second result of the security fostered by Minos. Contrast with c. 2. § 2. The impfs. **ποιούμενοι, ᾤκουν, περιεβάλλοντο, γιγνόμενοι**, express the gradually advancing development. —

τείχη περιεβάλλοντο ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι· ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἵ τε ἥσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. καὶ ἐν 4 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.

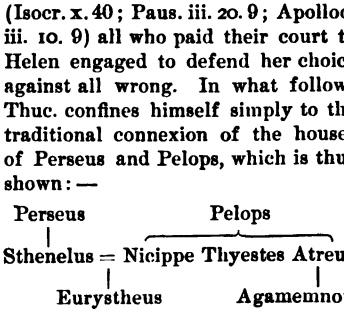
9 Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων 1 καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὅρκοις κατειλημμένους

13. ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι: *being conscious* (*ὡς*) *that they were advancing in wealth.* *ἑαυτῶν, than they were before;* the comp. with gen. of refl. pron. measures progress by change in the subj. itself. *Cf.* iii. 11. 6; vi. 72. 22; vii. 66. 14. Frequent in Hdt. H. 644; Kühn. 543, 6.— **14. ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ . . . πόλεις:** the two clauses, placed on the same level by *τε . . . τε* (*cf.* c. 12. 10; 23. 4; 26. 11, 15; 57. 3; ii. 22. 3: in prose *καί . . . καί* is more usual) depict the same progress from the same motive on the part of rulers as well as subjects. *δουλεία* is often used of political dependence. *Cf.* c. 122. 15; ii. 63. 4; v. 69. 5. Here gen. *τῶν κρεισσόνων* as if with *δοῦλοι*. For the pl. *περιουσίας*, see on c. 7. 2. *ὑπηκόους* is pred. to *προσεποιοῦντο*, as *ἱκανόν, μέγα* with *αἴρειν*, c. 90. 20; ii. 75. 22. *Cf.* ii. 30. 6; Hdt. i. 6. 7, *τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο.*

16. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ . . . ὄντες: *and as they became more fully organized in this way, i.e.* than in the previous age.— **17. ὕστερον χρόνῳ:** denotes always a considerable interval. *Cf.* iii. 85. 10; v. 34. 14; vi. 3. 8; or with *χρόνῳ* placed first, c. 64. 8; 100. 6; iv. 81. 9; v. 5. 14; here it indicates the point in the gradual progress of society at which external action became possible; and so the subject of the Trojan war is resumed from c. 3. 22. The following c. 9–11 establish the *τεκμήριον* (c. 1. 12) of the lack of naval power in early times.

9. *The Trojan war is to be attributed to the predominance of Agamemnon, and his possession of some maritime power.*

1. Ἀγαμέμνων τε: *τε* = *and so*, leading from the general statement to the particular. *Cf.* c. 4. 5; 5. 19; 6. 16. The stress of the sentence rests on *δυνάμει προύχων, from his surpassing his contemporaries in power.* — **2. οὐ τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον:** *οὐ τοσοῦτον* (followed by *ὅσον*, c. 11. 1; 88. 2; viii. 45. 14), though strictly denying only comparatively, has nearly the force of a full negation: *and not so much because he had the leading of Helen's suitors, bound, as they were, by their oaths to Tyndareus.* According to the post-Homeric legend (Isocr. x. 40; Paus. iii. 20. 9; Apollod. iii. 10. 9) all who paid their court to Helen engaged to defend her choice against all wrong. In what follows Thuc. confines himself simply to the traditional connexion of the houses of Perseus and Pelops, which is thus shown:—



τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι. λέγουσι 2
δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμῃ παρὰ
τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι, Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει
χρημάτων, ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους
ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς
χώρας ἔπηλυν ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις
ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ
ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελ-
φοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστρά-
τευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ

4. καί: *in confirmation of this.* — **οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα . . . δεδεγμένοι**: *those of the Peloponnesians who have received the clearest traditional accounts from men of former times.* **Πελοποννησίων** is a part. gen. placed irregularly between the art. and partic. See Kr. *Spr.* 47, 9, 11. *Cf.* c. 25. 18; 126. 33; iv. 111. 6; 125. 20. "Traditionary history (*μνήμῃ παρὰ τῶν πρότερον*) almost necessarily implies that it is indigenous in the country of which it treats." Arnold. —**6. ἦλθεν . . . ἔχων**: *he had with him when he came;* the same order in c. 11. 10; viii. 8. 4; 27. 20. — **7. τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν . . . σχεῖν**: *stranger though he was, secured the calling of the country after his own name.* **σχεῖν** = **κατασχεῖν**, and the whole is for the more usual *τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ χώρᾳ παρασχέσθαι.* The name is found perhaps first in Tyrtaeus, frg. 2, *εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.* See Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, I. p. 30. The form **ἔπηλυν** is rightly adopted by Stahl for **ἐπήλυτην**, as in c. 29. 23, after the analogy of *νέηλυς, σύνηλυς.* — **9. ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι**: *yet greater things fell to the lot of. Cf.* viii. 83. 4; Hdt. iv. 157. 2, *οὐδέν σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο.* v. 82. 7, *ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.* Ar. *Nub.* 594. — **Εὐρυσθέως μὲν . . . μείζους καταστῆναι**: Sh. remarks on this passage as being an excellent example of what Arist. (*Rhet.* iii. 9. 2) calls *εἰρομένη λέξις, ἡ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὑτήν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ.* The intention of Thuc. appears to have been to state the grounds of the advancement of the Pelopidae in a series of absolute genitives, logically arranged. But the consistent carrying out of this plan is infringed: (*a*) by his placing first **Εὐρυσθέως . . . ἀποθανόντος** out of its natural order, perhaps as being the really decisive matter; (*b*) by the choice of the active **ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως . . . Ἀτρεῖ** instead of the passive **Ἀτρέως ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως . . . ἐπιτραπέντος**; (*c*) by the desertion of the absolute construction and the introducing of the infinitives *τυγχάνειν, παραλαβεῖν, καταστῆναι* in direct dependence on *λέγουσι.* — **ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ**: according to the legend, at the Scironian rocks in Megaris; so that Attica must be here taken in an extended sense. — **10. Ἡρακλειδῶν**: by Hyllus (Diod. iv. 57. 6) or by Iolaus (Eur. *Heracl.* 859). Patronymics are sometimes used like proper names without the art. *Cf.* c. 12. 11; viii.

(τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον), καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς,
15 βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα, τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστῆναι. ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγα- 3
20 μέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι.
25 καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἴρηκεν αὐτὸν 4

53. 10. — 13. **Χρυσίππου**: his half-brother, son of Pelops and Axioche, killed by Atreus and Thyestes at the instance of their mother Hippodamia. — 16. **δυνατόν**: *i.e.* by his riches, which, as son of Pelops, he was assumed to possess. See on c. 5. 5. Note the combination of the concordant partics. **δοκοῦντα** and **τεθεραπευκότα** (agreeing with **Ἀτρέα**) with the abs. partic. *Cf.* c. 2. 8, Kr. *Spr.* 56, 14, 2. — 19. **ἃ**: *all of which powers.* The rel. serves as an emphatic connective. *Cf.* c. 33. 13; 35. 15; 40. 9, *etc.* The intervention of Thyestes between Atreus and Agamemnon (Hom. B 106) is not noticed. — 20. **καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα . . . ἰσχύσας**: Cl. regards **τε** as the conj., taking **καὶ** — **ἅμα** not as a copula, but as an adv. emphasizing the new element of power, and compares c. 2. 8; 14. 13; 64. 14; and for the use of **τε** without relation to **καί**, vi. 44. 18; viii. 68. 12. So in ii. 36. 2 **καὶ . . . ἅμα** without relation to the conj. **δέ**. *Cf.* also ii. 68. 19. See App. — 21. **φοῦ . . . τὸ πλεῖον ἢ**: *not so much . . . as*, by litotes = **ἧσσον ἤ**, so that the former suggestion is wholly excluded. *Cf.* c. 36. 6; 69. 32; ii. 37. 7; 39. 6, 20. The Mss. vary between **πλεῖον** and **πλέον**. For **χάριτι**, *cf.* Hom. ε 307, **οἳ τότ' ὄλοντο | Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ χάριν Ἀτρείδῃσι φέροντες**.

22. **φαίνεται**: opp. to the subjective **δοκεῖ**, 19, as giving the positive assertion of Hom. B 576, that Agamemnon commanded 100 ships, and B 612, that he supplied 60 to the Arcadians. *Cf.* c. 13. 9; vi. 2. 6, where this verb is presumably used of written testimony. — 24. **τεκμηριῶσαι**: see on c. 3. 12. The doubt here suggested refers only to the details, not to the authority of Homer on the whole. *Cf.* c. 10. 19; vi. 2. 5. — 25. **ἐν τοῦ . . . παραδόσει**: Hom. B 101–9. For position of the gen., *cf.* v. 47. 65; vi. 34. 57; vii. 24. 5. This mode of referring to passages of Homer by their contents assumes complete familiarity on the part of readers. *Cf.* c. 10. 25, **ἐν**

"πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν." οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων — ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων· αὗται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἴησαν, — ἠπειρώτης ὢν ἐκράτει, εἰ μή τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἵα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἄν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἵ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασι καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη,

νεῶν καταλόγῳ. — 26. **οὐκ ἂν οὖν . . . ἐκράτει . . . εἰ μὴ εἶχεν**: *he would not be lord of the islands*, as he is in the poem, *if he did not possess a fleet*, as he is represented as doing. But GMT. 49, 2; H. 895 a, and Kr. *Spr.* 54, 10, 3 explain the impfs. as implying a real state of the case *enduring in the past; i.e.* *νήσων ἐκράτει*, not *κρατεῖ*, *ναυτικὸν εἶχεν*, not *ἔχει*. See on c. 11. 12. — 27. **ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων . . . εἴησαν**: a parenthetical objection, at once rejected; *except those on the coast; and these could not be called* πολλαί. For *ἔξω*, *cf.* c. 10. 29; v. 26. 11. For *εἴησαν ἄν*, see GMT. 52, 2, Rem. — 29. **εἰκάζειν**: with dat. of the ground of judgment; elsewhere with *ἐκ*, *ἀπό*. *Cf.* c. 10. 15; iii. 20. 21; iv. 126. 14; viii. 46. 27.

10. *The statements of Homer do not lead us to attribute to the Trojan war any great importance, considered as an undertaking of collective Hellas.*

1. **καὶ ὅτι μὲν κτέ.**: before proceeding to discuss the Trojan war, Thuc. warns his readers not to be misled by the present appearance of places of former fame. *And the fact that Mycenae was a small place, or if any one of the former towns appears now to be insignificant, one must not take this as sure evidence and so refuse to believe that the expedition against Troy was as great as the poets have asserted and the legend represents.* The two clauses **ὅτι . . . ἦν** and **εἴ τι . . . εἶναι** must be conceived as repeated together in an understood *τούτῳ* to which **ἀκριβεῖ σημείῳ** is a pred. (Cl. gets out of **εἴ τι . . . εἶναι** a second subj. to *μικρὸν ἦν*.) The particle **μέν** has no exact correlative, but the opposed statement occurs in a different form in 16. With *μικρόν* neut. pred. to **Μυκῆναι**, *cf.* c. 138. 26; iv. 76. 15. G. 138, N. 2 *c*; H. 617. The impf. **ἦν** is used because Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives, B.C. 468 (Diod. xi. 65. 5). Strabo, viii. 6. 10, with exaggeration says of the site: *ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως*, whereas the ruins of Mycenae have always in modern times been regarded of archaeological importance (Curtius, *Pelop.* II. p. 400 ff.), and have recently awakened fresh interest from the researches of Schliemann. — 3. **μὴ γενέσθαι**: *μή* with inf. after a verb of *denial*. GMT. 95, 2, N. 1; H. 1029. — 5. **κατέχει**: *obtains, prevails*; abs., as in c. 11. 19; with acc. c. 6. 13.

Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ κτέ.: an instance to prove the fallaciousness of such reasoning. The two opt. verbs are

λειφθείη δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι· (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν·) ὅμως δέ, οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα· Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν. οὐκ οὖν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς 3 ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομί-

placed together for contrast. — 6. **τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη**: *the groundwork of the buildings.* As applied to a city *κατασκευή* (see on c. 2. 12) means the public and private edifices with their internal arrangements. — 7. **πολλὴν ἂν . . . αὐτῶν εἶναι**: *after the lapse of a long time great incredulity, methinks, would reign among posterity as to their power, considering their fame.* — 9. **τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας**: *two fifths.* See Cobet, Mnemosyne, 8, p. 68. In the expression of fractions, when the denominator exceeds the numerator by 1, the gen. is omitted; *τὰ τρία μέρη* = $\frac{3}{4}$. *Cf.* c. 104. 9. Otherwise the denominator stands first in the gen. as here. Hom. K 252, *παρφχωκεν δὲ πλέων νὺξ | τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται.* H. 293; Kühn. 135, 6. Cl., v. H., and B., after the Schol., think the *πέντε μοῖραι* the traditional five divisions of Peloponnesus, Elis with either Arcadia or Achaea being reckoned as one. Then *τὰς δύο μοίρας* will be Laconia and Messenia. — 10. **τῆς τε ξυμπάσης κτέ.**: a general expression for the political importance of Sparta at the time of the writer; not, however, to be pressed, since Argolis and a large part of Arcadia were not under the hegemony of Sparta. *πολλῶν* is pred., = *πολλῶν ὄντων.* — 11. **πόλεως**: pred., *since it has never been brought together into a compact city,* as Athens has been. *Cf.* ii. 15. 14. — 13. **ὑποδεεστέρα**: (not with Kr. *ὑποδεέστερα*) with the subj. *ἡ δύναμις* understood from *τῆς δυνάμεως* in 7. So St., B., v. H., and Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 306. But Cl. supplies *Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ πόλις*, though the same subj. has just been supplied in gen. with the abs. partics. This adj. means *weaker*, not 'smaller.' *Cf.* c. 11. 18; ii. 89. 22; iii. 11. 15; 45. 26. The parenthesis beginning at *καίτοι*, 9, should be closed after *ὑποδεεστέρα* (with Bekk., St., v. H., B., Sh.), not after *πολλῶν*, that *εἰκάζεσθαι*, 15, may depend on *οἶμαι.* — 14. **παθόντων**: = *εἰ πάθοιεν.* GMT. 52, 1 and 110, 1; H. 902. — 16. **ἢ ἔστιν**: *as it really is*, not 'as it now is.' The writer has in view the general importance of Athens at his time, not its condition at the end of

ζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὁμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν τὰς 4 μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτήτου πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκε· τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν

the whole war, or of the first ten years, as Ullrich assumes, *Beitr.* p. 124.

18. στρατείαν: see App. — τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς: see on c. 1. 4. — 19. λειπομένην: *remaining behind, falling below*, with gen. of separation. G. 174; H. 749. — αὖ: refers to c. 9. 24. — 20. ἣν: *i.e.* στρατείαν (not referring to ποιήσει, though nearer; *cf.* c. 68. 15; 140. 28; 144. 25), *which it is natural to suppose that he as a poet embellished to excess, but which even with this exaggeration evidently falls short.* But Cobet reads ὄν, *i.e.* Ὅμηρον, referring to c. 21. 3. The subj. of φαίνεται would naturally be ἦ; but in Greek, when the rel. would appear in successive clauses in different cases, it is usually omitted in the second, often being represented by a dem. or pers. pron. *Cf.* c. 36. 2; ii. 41. 15. G. 156; H. 1005; Kühn. 561, 1.

22. πεποίηκε κτέ.: for tense, see on c. 3. 17. The exact number is 1186. νεῶν is part. gen.; ἀνδρῶν is gen. of material (G. 167. 4; H. 729) or of quality, which in Greek is nearly confined to designations of quantity or age with a numeral. *Cf.* Kr. *Spr.* 47, 8, 3, 4. For the facts, see Hom. B 510, 719. — 24. τάς: *cf.* c. 6. 1. Since the two adjs. cannot be referred to the same subj., there is no risk of confusion. Sh. compares Aesch. *Ag.* 314, νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταίος δραμών. — 25. γοῦν: see on c. 2. 18; *at any rate, i.e.* whether this inference is correct or not. — πέρι: with μνησθῆναι, for the simple gen. *Cf.* c. 37. 4; v. 41. 9; viii. 47. 11. — 26. αὐτερέται: fighting men who served also at the oar. *Cf.* iii. 18. 16; vi. 91. 15; here defined further by μάχιμοι. — 27. ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου: *when he mentions the ships of Philoctetes.* See on c. 9. 25. *Cf.* Hom. B 719. — 28. προσκώπους: Schol. τοὺς πρὸς ταῖς κώπαις ναύτας. — περίνεως: Schol. τοὺς περιττοὺς ἐν τῇ νηῒ ἐπιβάτας, the supernumeraries who were not needed to work the ships. Boeckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen*, p. 121. The word seems not to occur again before Dio Cass. (xlix. 1. 5). — 29. τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει: so ii. 10. 10, *those highest in rank.* Elsewhere simply οἱ ἐν τέλει, c. 90. 29; iii. 36. 20; iv. 65.

τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ λῃστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι.

11 Αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον

6; v. 27. 6, *etc.*: and in the same sense τὰ τέλη, c. 58. 8; iv. 15. 2; 86. 3; 88. 6. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 3 has τὰ μέγιστα τέλη. — 30. μέλλοντας: this and ἔχοντας, 32, though formally agreeing with περίνεως, refer really to the crews in general. The anacoluthon is rendered less striking by ἄλλως τε καί, which often introduces partics. abs. or approximately so. *Cf.* c. 70. 2; 85. 8; ii. 8. 14; 16. 6; 85. 5; iii. 20. 18; 40. 27; 43. 14; iv. 104. 5; 106. 3; vii. 1. 10; viii. 1. 18. — πέλαγος: *the open sea.* *Cf.* iii. 33. 5; iv. 24. 19; vi. 13. 12; 34. 27; vii. 49. 13. — 31. αὖ: *again, i.e.* to use another argument bearing on this point. — κατάφρακτα: *decked*, opp. to ἄφρακτα. — 32. λῃστικώτερον: *rather in a piratical fashion*, than in that of ships of war; the comp. expressing the existence of one quality rather than that of another. *Cf.* c. 49. 4; ii. 83. 11; vi. 104. 22. Kühn. 542, note 7.

33. πρός: *cf.* 8; c. 6. 15. — δ' οὖν: the correction of Bekk. for γοῦν of most Mss., adopted by St., B., Sh., v. H., serves after a digression to resume a previous statement; here that of 21. See on c. 3. 19, and *cf.* c. 63. 4; ii. 5. 28; 34. 21; vi. 56. 1. — 34. τὸ μέσον: *the mean* or *average*; viz. 85. — σκοποῦντι: a dat. partic. often thus used to indicate the person who from his position, attention, or other circumstance, is likely to form a correct opinion. 'Dat. of the observer.' *Cf.* c. 21. 12; 24. 1; ii. 49. 17; 51. 1. G. 184, 5; H. 771 a; Kühn. 423, 25 e. — ὡς ... πεμπόμενοι: *considering that they were sent;* partic. impf. The impf. tenses of πέμπειν regularly combine the notion of 'continued action' with that of 'outset.' "πέμπειν has not the same notion of 'detachment' as our 'send.'" Gildersleeve, Pind. *Ol.* 11. 23.

11. *For there was still a great lack of means and appliances for war.*

1. αἴτιον: often used as a pred. subst. without regard to gender and number of subj. *Cf.* ii. 65. 30; iii. 82. 53; 93. 6; iv. 26. 13; viii. 9. 11. — τοσοῦτον ὅσον: see on c. 9. 2. — 2. ἀπορίᾳ: the preceding gen. serves for the art. See on c. 1. 11. — 3. καὶ ὅσον κτέ.: "and only so large as they expected would find its support in the country while carrying on the war." — 4. ἐπειδὴ δέ: see App. — ἐκράτησαν: Cobet, Mnem. 8, p. 69, adopts the conjecture of Thiersch, ἐκρατήθη-

δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ λῃστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ. ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βίᾳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον 2 ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ

σαν. But the fact of one victory at least is necessary to support the general statement of 11, ὄντες ἀθρόοι . . . κρατοῦντες εἶλον. See a discussion of this question in Am. J. of Ph., V. p. 235 ff. — δῆλον δέ: *sc.* τὸ μάχῃ κρατῆσαι αὐτούς. — 5. τὸ γὰρ κτέ.: *for otherwise* (*i.e.* εἰ μὴ μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, *cf.* c. 68. 18; 102. 7; Dem. XVIII. 47, 197) *they could not have raised the rampart for the camp.* For γάρ, *cf.* c. 2. 22; 3. 2. Kr. *Spr.* 57, 10, 14. The rampart here spoken of cannot be that of Hom. H 337, 443. Thuc. must have found the notice of this as well as of the γεωργία τῆς Χερσονήσου, 7, in some other poem than our Iliad. See Eustath. on Hom. E 4, and the Schol., who says, πρὸς γεωργίαν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀκάμας κατ' Ἀντίμαχον. On the necessity of a victory as a preliminary to occupation of a country, *cf.* vi. 23. 6, οὓς πρέπει τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἦ ἂν κατάσχωσιν, εὐθὺς κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς. On the aor. with ἄν to express a past potential, see Aken, *Tempus und Modus*, § 73; Bäumlein, *Modi*, p. 148; Kühn. 392 a, 4. — 6. φαίνονται δέ: δέ in apod. after a parenthesis, as in c. 18. 11; vii. 33. 7; viii. 29. 10. G. 227, 2; H. 1046 c. — οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα: *not even then, i.e.* not even after their first and promising success were they able from lack of supplies to keep their army together and prosecute the siege with vigor. *Cf.* Aesch. *Pr.* 204. — 8. λῃστείαν: *cf.* Hom. A 366; I 328. — ἦ καί: used before a comp. adv. emphasizes an inference. *Cf.* c. 25. 22; ii. 2. 21; iii. 13. 13; iv. 1. 14. — 9. αὐτῶν: by its position = ipsorum, implies that the dispersion was due to their own needs. — τὰ δέκα ἔτη: *the famous ten years.* — βίᾳ: *in the field*, used by Thuc. in dat. only, as adv. to express any sort of violent effort, opp. to ὁμολογίᾳ or ξυμβάσει (agreement), v. 17. 14; vi. 47. 6; to δικαίῳ (judicial decision), iv. 62. 11; to ἀπάτῃ (deception), iv. 86. 5.

12. διέφερον: we might have expected the aor. διήνεγκον. But in unreal conditional clauses the impf. is used in Greek in opp. not only to a present state of things but to a past, if it is continued. *Cf.* Hdt. viii. 30. 5. GMT. 49, 2; H. 895 a. — ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον: this clause states that the Greeks might have successfully maintained themselves in the field, as the indispensable condition of their prosecuting the siege; the second stage being expressed in 14, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ κτέ. These two clauses do not state, as Jowett says, alternative means of taking the city (*cf.* c. 116. 12, where proved superiority on land is merely preliminary to a siege),

κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἵ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον, πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον. ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἦν καὶ 3 αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος. 12 ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε 1 καὶ κατῳκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξηθῆναι. ἥ τε 2 γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη

but the two natural stages of the expedition. To answer πολιορκίᾳ δέ, we might have expected ῥᾳδίως μέν. But there are many cases in which a δέ clause has no expressed correlative particle. *Cf.* c. 12. 7 (where μέν is omitted by P., B., v. H. with best Mss.); 19. 2; 56. 6; 64. 2; 86. 5; iv. 7. 2; Dem. XIX. 80 (Φωκέων δέ); Plat. *Rep.* 340 d (τὸ δ' οἶμαι); 398 a (εἴποιμεν δ' ἄν). Kühn. 531, 3. κρατοῦντες includes the victory of 4, and others which would have ensued on the assumed condition. εἶλον may be explained with Herbst, Philol. 16, 288, with ellipse of τοὺς Τρῶας, "would have defeated the Trojans." *Cf.* for this meaning, c. 110. 6; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 1; *Hipparch.* 5. 14. Or perhaps the verb may be used intr., "would have proved superior," after the analogy of ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ. St. and v. H. omit εἶλον, but give no satisfactory explanation of δέ. The above explanation differs materially from that of Cl.

16. δι' ἀχρηματίαν κτέ.: this gives the conclusion of the inquiry announced in c. 9. 29, since τὰ πρὸ τούτων (*i.e.* τῶν Τρωικῶν) are disparaged in proportion as αὐτά γε ταῦτα (*i.e.* τὰ Τρωικά) are shown to be of less importance than fame would lead us to expect. — 17. τῶν πρίν: see on c. 1. 4. — 18. τοῖς ἔργοις: *by the facts, i.e.* by an unprejudiced inquiry into the truth of things. — 19. κατεσχηκότος: Thuc. often places an attrib. partic. after a noun which is attended by other modifiers. *Cf.* c. 90. 7; 96. 8; iii. 54. 18; 56. 5; 67. 11. So Dem. XX. 76, ταῦτα ἐλάττω φανῆναι τῆς ἐν ἑκάστῳ νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπαρχούσης. XVIII. 126.

12. *Even the Trojan war was followed by movements of population in Greece, and then by systematic colonization.*

1. ἐπεί: *since, for.* The causes which impeded the development of Hellenic power continued, in some respects, in operation even after the Trojan war; and this fact is a further indication of the truth of the inference in c. 11. § 3. — ἡ Ἑλλὰς . . . αὐξηθῆναι: *Greece was still subject to changes and the establishment of new states, so that it did not get rest* (aor. as in c. 3. 8) *and so increase.* See App.

3. χρονία: (elsewhere in Thuc. of two terminations) pred. adj. used adv., *after a long time.* *Cf.* c. 4. 1; 141. 30; ii. 49. 29; vi. 31. 16. G. 138, N. 7; H.

πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν 3 ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν), Δωριῆς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον. μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ 4

619. — 4. **καὶ στάσεις . . . ἐγίγνοντο**: the *καί* in correlation with the previous *τε* shows that the *στάσεις* here spoken of are not, with the Schol., to be regarded as results of the Trojan war, but are the movements, presently mentioned, which were caused by the pressure of the Thessalians. *ὡς ἐπὶ πολύ, as a rule, in many instances.* See App. — 5. **ἀφ' ὧν . . . ἔκτιζον**: *ἀπό, in consequence of,* of the remote, not the immediate, cause. *Cf.* c. 17. 4; 24. 10. Since *ἐκπίπτειν* is regularly used as the pass. to *ἐκβάλλειν*, to express the forced departure of a defeated faction, Cobet wishes to read *ὑφ'* for *ἀφ'*. An indef. subj., *men*, must be supplied. *τάς* with *πόλεις* implies those of which current tradition makes report. But Madvig conjectures *νέας*, and v. H. *ἄλλας*.

6. **οἱ νῦν**: *i.e.* those occupying the present land of Boeotia. — **ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει**: acc. to the common date of the fall of Troy, B.C. 1124. — 7. **Ἄρνης**: the old home of the Aeolian Boeotians near the Gulf of Pagasae. The Boeotian Arne mentioned Hom. B 507, of doubtful position, probably near Coronea, was named from it. — **ἀναστάντες**: the regular term for forcible removal. The act. in ii. 27. 1. — 8. **ᾤκισαν**: St. reads *ᾤκησαν* (also B., Kr., v. H.) on the ground that *οἰκίσαι* de regionum vel urbium aut primis aut novis incolis dicitur — *οἰκῆσαι* quod in universum *sedes collocare* significat, de condendis urbibus dici nequit. Cl. admits this distinction, but retains *ᾤκισαν*, because, though Thuc. conceived some Boeotians to have settled earlier in Boeotia, the ones now spoken of must be regarded as novi incolae. — **ἦν δὲ . . . ἐστράτευσαν**: an attempt to reconcile Hom. B 494 ff., which mentions Boeotians who went to the Trojan war, with the tradition that the Aeolic migration into Boeotia took place sixty years after it. But an *ἀποδασμός* could not fill all the places mentioned in the catalogue as Boeotian; and this so far confirms the judgment of recent criticism, that the *νεῶν κατάλογος* is one of the latest additions to the Iliad. In *ἀφ' ὧν* the reference is to the collective *ἀποδασμός*. — 10. **Δωριῆς τε**: the particles *τε . . . τε* unite *Βοιωτοὶ κτέ.* and *Δωριῆς κτέ.* on an equal footing (c. 8. 14), as illustrations of the want of stability in Hellas. — 11. **ἔσχον**: aor. as in c. 3. 8. This is the only *second* aor. which appears to be used ingressively, "the pres. which is 'process' of holding connoting 'state.' See note on Pind. *Ol.* II. 10." B. L. G.

χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἃ χωρία. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

13 Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γενομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι), ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο

12. **οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη**: partic. impf., *being no longer subject to these violent changes of inhabitants.* — 14. **ᾤκισαν**: with acc. of persons, here and in vi. 4. 8; rare in prose. *Cf.* Pind. *Is.* VIII. 22; Soph. *O. C.* 785; Eur. *Hec.* 1022; *I. A.* 1293. — **Ἰταλίας**: used by Thuc. only of the peninsula south of the river Laus and Metapontum; *cf.* vi. 2. 19; vii. 33. 21; whereas Campania belongs to **Ὀπικία**, vi. 4. 25; and therefore **τὸ πλεῖστον** may be taken in its proper sense. — 15. **τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κτέ.**: see on c. 1. 6. Notice the rare use of **τε** to connect two single notions. See on c. 60. 8. Kühn. 519, 2. The many settlements of the Corinthians in the islands and on the coast of the Ionian gulf are referred to. — 16. **πάντα δὲ ταῦτα κτέ.**: these words refer to the settlements made after the migrations above mentioned had ceased.

13. *Advance is now made in maritime skill, particularly by Corinth, and, among the Ionians, by Samos and Phocaea.*

2. **ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον**: the reference is to c. 8. 11, where a similar statement is made as to the time before the Trojan war. **ἔτι** is therefore significant, and not to be changed to **τι** or **ἤδη**, as Kr. proposes. — 3. **τὰ πολλά**: adv. *often*. *Cf.* c. 78. 5; 122. 5; ii. 11. 17; 87. 26; iii. 37. 22. — **τυραννίδες**: the despotisms here spoken of differed in their origin from those of which that of Pisistratus was a type; as a government, legal in its origin, might be converted into a **τυραννὶς** by an illegal and forcible extension of its powers. This is stated by Arist. *Pol.* viii. 10. 5, when, after describing the usual growth of despotisms (**οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν**), he says: **αἱ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαινόντων τὰ πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας ἀρχῆς ὀρεγομένων.** — 4. **ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι**: *with defined prerogatives; ἐπί* with dat. of the condition and basis of established order. *Cf.* Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14. 14, **ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους [βασιλεία] . . . ἦν ἑκόντων μὲν ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος.** — 5. **πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι**: *hereditary monarchies* (*cf.* vii. 69. 12; viii. 6. 17, of ties of friendship, *etc.*), passing from father to son. — **ἐξηρτύετο**: of naval preparations; usually mid. *Cf.* c. 14. 4; 25. 23; 121. 7; ii. 13. 19; 85. 11, *etc.*

ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο. πρῶτοι δὲ 2
Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρί-
σαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμει- 3
νοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας, ἔτη
δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ
πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθε· ναυμαχία τε πα- 4
λαιτάτη ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους·
ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι
μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κο- 5

Act. with ἐπίπλουν, ii. 17. 21. — 6. **ἀντείχοντο**: *applied themselves*. For pl. following sing., *cf.* iii. 72. 8. Kühn. 359, 2.

πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι κτέ.: the view which Thuc. now gives of the development of Greek maritime power (to the end of c. 14) comprises the period from 700 to 500 B.C., including the advances made by the Corinthians, the Ionians, the tyrants in Sicily, and the Corcyraeans, to the development of the Athenian navy under Themistocles. See App. — 7. **τοῦ νῦν τρόπου**: opp. to the *παλαιὸς τρόπος* of c. 10. 31. — **μεταχειρίσαι**: used only act. by Thuc. *Cf.* iv. 18. 14; vi. 12. 17; 16. 31; vii. 87. 2. Later chiefly mid. — 8. **καὶ τριήρεις . . . ναυπηγηθῆναι**: *and it is said that Corinth was the first place in Greece where triremes were built*. Part. gen. with a sup. adv. G. 168; H. 755 b; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 28, 8. This probably represents a further advance on the previous statement, *πρῶτοι . . . τὰς ναῦς*. — 9. **φαίνεται δὲ κτέ.**: since it was a Corinthian shipwright who constructed ships of war (*ναῦς*, probably not triremes; *cf.* c. 14. 4) for the Samians, we have a second indication of the early prominence of the Corinthians. The third is introduced by *τε*, 12. See on c. 2. 6. — 11. **μάλιστα**: used with statements of quantity to imply that the account given is the best practicable approximation, though the reality may be either more or less. — **τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου**: on the import of this expression, see Introd., p. 24. The two events dated must have occurred respectively in B.C. 704 and 664. — 12. **ὅτε**: *since the time when* = *ἐξ* or *ἀφ' οὗ*, as in c. 18. 9. So to express the terminus a quo we have *ὡς* in iv. 90. 14, and in v. 20. 4, where *ἤ* is perhaps to be omitted; *ἐπειδή*, iii. 68. 31 (*cf.* c. 6. 9); *ἐπεί*, Eur. *Med.* 26; *Hipp.* 34; *I. T.* 258. Kr. *Dial.* 69, 56, 2. In iii. 29. 9, *ὅτε* gives the terminus ad quem, *till*. — **ἦλθε**: with dat. *Cf.* c. 27. 1; 61. 1; 107. 27; iii. 70. 2; vi. 46. 12; vii. 73. 5; viii. 96. 1; Plat. *Prot.* 321 c.

παλαιτάτη: see on c. 1. 11. — 13. **γίγνεται**: here and in 24 the pres. is not hist., but represents the vision of the historical inquirer. — 14. **ταύτῃ**: the terminus a quo as *ὅτε . . . ἦλθε* in 12. For the dat. *cf.* iii. 29. 9; and Soph. *O. T.* 735, *καὶ τίς χρόνος τοῖσδ' ἐστὶν οὐξεληλυθώς;* — **ἔστι**: here

ρίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἀεί δή ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται· ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον· ἐπειδή τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἔπλωζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθῆρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφότερα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Ἴωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ γίγνεται 6 ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύρου Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλεύοντος καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης, Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου, ναυτικῷ ἰσχύ-

and in 11 represents the result of a calculation. So ἦσαν in iii. 29. 9.

16. ἀεὶ δή ποτε: *from the very earliest times.* The indef. ποτε extends the notion of ἀεί over an unlimited past (*cf.* c. 47. 10; 60. 9; iv. 103. 11, *etc.*; Hdt. ix. 26. 5), and receives additional emphasis from δή, as in viii. 73. 26. — 17. τὰ πλείω: usually in comp. sense without the art., as in c. 3. 23. *Cf.* with this Soph. *Ant.* 313; Eur. *Hipp.* 471. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 4, 13. Commonly the phrase has a sup. meaning. *Cf.* c. 69. 27; 81. 8; ii. 39. 14; 89. 8; iii. 37. 26; 83. 8. — 18. τῶν τε . . . ἔξω: appos. to τῶν Ἑλλήνων. See on c. 2. 24. — 19. παρ' ἀλλήλους: see on c. 2. 5. — χρήμασί τε: with ἐπειδή τε, 21, of the successive stages of progress. See on c. 12. 10. — 20. ἀφνειόν: *cf.* Hom. B 570. So Pind. *Ol.* XIII. 4 calls Corinth ὀλβία, and Hdt. iii. 52. 14, εὐδαίμων. — 22. ἔπλωζον: poetic verb (*cf.* Hes. *Op.* 634); *i.e.* πλοϊμώτερα ἐγίγνετο, c. 8. 8. — τὰς ναῦς: *i.e.* those above mentioned. — καθῆρουν: *sc.* οἱ Κορίνθιοι, as the following words show. — 23. ἀμφότερα: not now, as in 17, κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω, but on both elements, = κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. *Cf.* c. 100. 4; 112. 11, *etc.* — δυνατὴν ἔσχον κτέ.: the aor. sums up the results of their efforts, = ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν δυνατὴ ἐγένετο.

24. Ἴωσιν ὕστερον κτέ.: *cf.* Hdt. i. 161 ff. This statement refers chiefly to Miletus and Chios, since Samos and Phocaea are specially mentioned afterwards. As Thuc. does not elsewhere date by the Persian kings, Köhler, *Archae. d. Th.* p. 7 (see App.) justly infers that he is here using Hdt. as his authority. The dates are, Cyrus, B.C. 559–529; Cambyses, B.C. 529–522. — 26. υἱέος: this form of the gen. also c. 137. 2; ii. 100. 14; iii. 26. 8; but υἱοῦ, v. 16. 24. The nom. and acc. sing. are of the second decl. only, as c. 111. 1; ii. 29. 24; 67. 15, *etc.*, and the pl. cases, acc. and gen., only of the third, as c. 20. 7; vi. 30. 12. — 27. ἐκράτησαν: the aor. is not ingressive (*cf.* c. 3. 8; 4. 2) but complexive, *they maintained their power.* — 28. τυραννῶν: not τυ-

ων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ῥήνειαν
30 ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ· Φωκαῆς τε Μασ-
14 σαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες. δυ- 1
νατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ
ταῦτα, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν,
τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ
5 πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ 2
τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύ-
σην Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς

ραντήσας, for his despotism began under Cyrus, about B.C. 532, and he was killed in the year of Cambyses's death, B.C. 522. *Cf.* Hdt. iii. 120 ff. — 29. **Ῥήνειαν κτέ.**: *cf.* iii. 104. 8. — 30. **Φωκαῆς τε . . . ναυμαχοῦντες**: Massalia (Marseilles) was founded by the Phocaeans, B.C. 600. The city of Phocaea was itself taken by Harpagus, the Persian commander, *cir.* B.C. 543, at which time half the population abandoned the place, and sailing westward to Corsica, fought a successful but ruinous battle against the combined fleets of the Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians (Hdt. i. 166). Thuc. is probably not referring to this battle, but to repeated successes (*ἐνίκων*) over the Carthaginians, who would be likely to resist any attempt to found a settlement on the Gallic coast. Antiochus of Syracuse may have been his authority for this statement. Even if the dates did not conflict, the tense *ἐνίκων*, which denotes the victory and its enduring results (*cf.* c. 49. 24; 100. 3; 116. 10; iii. 108. 10, *etc.*) could hardly be used to denote the **Καδμείη νίκη** of the Phocaeans. See App.

14. *Still it was only slowly and by degrees that progress was made.*

1. **δυνατώτατα γὰρ κτέ.**: not the reason of the preceding thought, but of the mention of the particular states named in last chap. — 2. **φαίνεται**: to be joined with *χρώμενα* and *ἐξηρτυμένα*. — 3. **πολλαῖς . . . Τρωικῶν**: *though these naval powers arose many generations after the Trojan war.* — 5. **πλοίοις μακροῖς**: *πλοῖα* usually opp. to war-ships, particularly to triremes, which are often called *νῆες* simply. *Cf.* ii. 84. 7; iv. 116. 5; vi. 65. 14. Here the epithet *μακροῖς* marks them as ships of war, though except in size they probably differed little from trading vessels. Kr. refers to Hdt. vii. 21. 9, where he speaks of *μακρὰς νέας* as furnished for Xerxes's bridge, to show that the epithet does not always have this force; but *ibid.* 36. 3 the same vessels are spoken of as *πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας*. — **ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα**: *i.e. τὰ κατὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ναυτικά.*

ὀλίγον τε: see on c. 2. 6. — 6. **τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου**: B.C. 485. — 7. **ἐβασίλευσε**: see on c. 3. 8. — **περὶ Σικελίαν**: see on c. 5. 17. Reference is made to Gelo, Hiero, and probably also to Anaxilas of Rhegium. — **τοῖς τυράννοις . . . ἐγένοντο**: *cf.* c. 13. 24. *ἐς πλῆθος, in numbers,* = *πολλαί*; usually *πλήθει*, as in ii. 11. 12; viii. 22. 3. *Cf.*

τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικὰ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. Αἰγωῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι, βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι, αἴσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης κατα-στρώματα.

Ar. *Ach.* 688, *ἐς τάχος παίει.* — 8. **ταῦτα**: the Sicilian and Corcyraean navies. The subj. is conformed to the pred. *ναυτικὰ ἀξιόλογα.* **τελευταῖα** is adv. See on c. 12. 3.

11. **βραχέα**: *of trifling importance. Cf.* c. 74. 22; 117. 12; 130. 9; 141. 4, *etc.* — **τὰ πολλά**: agrees formally with the preceding whole (*τὰ ναυτικά*), but really refers only to a part to which *πεντηκοντόρους* is pred. The *πεντηκόντορος* had on each side 25 oarsmen arranged horizontally. — 12. **ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ**: the event spoken of (*ἔπεισε Θεμιστοκλῆς*) stands at a point between the Trojan war and the time of the historian. Looking from the former one might say *ὀψὲ ἔπεισεν*; looking from the latter, *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ ἔπεισεν.* Cl. considers the expression in the text as a mixture of the two. Such a *σύγχυσις* might easily occur in a long and complex period, but is hardly credible when the words stand close together. Kr. and v. H. bracket *ἀφ' οὗ*, and Sh. suggests that *ἐκέκτηντο* may be repeated after *ὀψέ.* — 13. **Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας**: no doubt the war mentioned in c. 41. 6; Hdt. vi. 87 ff., which was perhaps before the battle of Marathon (B.C. 490), though the invasion of Xerxes (B.C. 480) is referred to in the following lines. Hdt., vii. 144, himself says that the advice of Themistocles was given before the alarm caused by Xerxes' invasion. See Grote, IV. c. 39, p. 399, on the importance to Athens of this interval and its causes. — **καὶ ἅμα**: with *ὄντος.* See on c. 2. 8; 9. 20. — 14. **τὰς ναῦς**: *the well-known fleet;* 100 triremes, acc. to Plut. *Them.* 4. 2; 200 acc. to Hdt. vii. 144. 8. — **αἴσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν**: *with which they actually fought as he intended. Cf.* c. 137. 2; ii. 86. 7. — 15. **καὶ αὗται κτέ.**: referring to c. 10. 31, *οὐδὲ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας,* and showing an advance since the Trojan times, though not an entire change. The completion of the deck was due to Cimon. *Cf.* Plut. *Cim.* 12. 3: *ἐκεῖνος τότε πλατυτέρας ἐποίησε τὰς τριήρεις καὶ διάβασιν τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁπλιτῶν μαχιμώτεραι προσφέροιντο τοῖς πολεμίοις.* With **διὰ πάσης**, *throughout*, no definite word is to be supplied. *Cf.* *ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης*, c. 15. 11; *ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ*, c. 27. 3; *ἀπὸ πρώτης*, c. 77. 11; with art., vii. 43. 35; *διὰ κενῆς*, iv. 126. 22.

15 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν, τά τε 1
παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γενόμενα, ἰσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο
ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων τε
προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ· ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους
5 κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν.
κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, 2
οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς
ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἑκάστοις, καὶ ἐκδήμους στρατείας
πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ ἐξῇ-
10 σαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ξυνειστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας
πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης κοινὰς στρα-

15. *Of still less importance were the wars waged in early times on land.*

1. **τοιαῦτα**: *i.e.* of small importance as compared with those of later times. — 2. **ἰσχὺν δὲ κτέ.**: *i.e.* though they were on a small scale, still those who paid attention to them gained greatly in wealth and power. *Cf.* c. 8. 11; 13. 1. On the spelling of **προσσχόντες**, see App.; and for the meaning, *cf.* vii. 4. 22. **αὐτοῖς** = **τοῖς ναυτικοῖς**. — 5. **ὅσοι μὴ . . . χώραν**: refers chiefly, perhaps exclusively, to the Athenians. *Cf.* c. 2. 26.

6. **κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος κτέ.**: the remainder of the chapter states the natural inference to which the discussion in c. 4–14 leads, that only the sea could be the adequate scene of Hellenic development. — **ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο**: *from which any considerable amount of power resulted.* Cl. and Kr. consider the meaning to be, "in consequence of which any large force was placed in the field," the latter saying that **προσεγένετο** would have been used for the meaning given above. But *cf.* Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2. 2, **τὸ προεστάναι πόλεως . . . παραγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.** Plat. *Theaet.* 197 c, **δύναμιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτὰς παραγεγονέναι.** *Men.* 99 e; *Legg.* 732 d. Besides for the latter meaning we should expect **ἐς ὅν** rather than **ὅθεν**. Under the influence of the neg. **οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη** there is no need of **ἄν** with **παρεγένετο**, as potential of the past, though v. H. reads **κἄν**. *Cf.* Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 17, **οὐδὲν οὕτω βραχὺ ὅπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο ἀλλήλων.** Isae. vi. 11. —7. **ξυνέστη**: implies the meeting of the parties engaged more forcibly than **κατέστη**. *Cf.* iv. 78. 29; vi. 85. 15. — **ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο**: *as many as did occur;* the 'emphasis-giving' **καί**, as in 6, often implies that a thing, the reality of which might be doubted, did take place. *Cf.* c. 97. 11; 105. 17; ii. 51. 21; iii. 67. 4. — 8. **τοὺς σφετέρους**: on the position, see on c. 1. 6. The refl. refers to a subj. implied in **ἑκάστοις**. — **στρατείας . . . ἐξῆσαν**: see App. on c. 3. 22. — 9. **τῆς ἑαυτῶν**: *sc.* **γῆς**. *Cf.* c. 44. 8; 142. 11. — 10. **ξυνειστήκεσαν . . . ὑπήκοοι**: *cf.* c. 1. 6. — 11. **οὐδ' αὖ . . . ἐποιοῦντο**: here the second mode of combining a large force is referred to, through a free

τείας ἐποιοῦντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ 3
γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
16 Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστη. ἐπεγένετο δὲ 1
ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, καὶ Ἴωσι προ-
χωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περ-
σικὴ βασιλεία Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἅλυος
5 ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ

alliance resting on equal rights, *αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης*. *Cf.* iii. 40. 31. — 12. **κατ' ἀλλήλους**: connected with the distributive *ὡς ἕκαστοι* (*sc.* *ἐπολέμουν*), "their wars were only the wars of the several neighbouring tribes, one with another." Jowett.

13. **μάλιστα**: *i.e.* within the time preceding the Peloponnesian war. — **ἐς τὸν πάλαι κτέ.**: the war for the possession of the *Λήλαντον πεδίον* between Chalcis and Eretria. *Cf.* Hdt. v. 99; Strab. x. 1. 11; Grote, III. c. 12, p. 170. Curtius, Herm. 10, p. 220 ff., gives good reason for placing this in the eighth rather than in the seventh century. — 14. **Ἐρετριῶν**: on the spelling, see App. — 15. **διέστη**: *cf.* c. 1. 6; 18. 28.

16. *The Ionians especially were hindered in their progress by the extension of the Persian power.*

1. **ἐπεγένετο**: *came upon, happened*, from the outside. This verb is often used of what is unexpected and disastrous, as in ii. 58. 8; vii. 87. 14; viii. 96. 8; and therefore of destructive natural phenomena, as in ii. 4. 8; 77. 20; iv. 3. 7; viii. 34. 4. — 2. **ἄλλοθι**: not here local, but of circumstances, relations, aliis rerum condicionibus. *Cf.* Plat. *Symp.* 184 e, *μοναχοῦ ἐνταῦθα συμπίπτει . . . ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ*. — **μὴ αὐξηθῆναι**: the Vat. Ms. has *τοῦ*, other Mss. *τοῦ μή*, before the inf. We might have had the simple inf. as in iv. 67. 24. GMT. 92, 1, N. 2; 95, 2; H. 1029. — **καὶ Ἴωσι**: should after *ἄλλοις τε* depend on *ἐπεγένετο*, but is dat. of interest with the partic. clause, and is felt again with *ἐπεστράτευσε*. For similar irregularity from apparent displacement of *τε*, *cf.* c. 53. 7; 77. 24; 129. 5; iii. 94. 17; iv. 28. 19; 52. 5; 85. 11; 127. 12; Hom. Ω 632. *ἐπιστρατεύειν* has dat. in c. 107. 25; iii. 54. 8; but acc. in iv. 60. 10; 92. 26. — **προχωρησάντων . . . πραγμάτων**: refers to the Ionians, not, as the Schol. says, to the Persians. — 3. **ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία**: in a concrete sense, *the Persian empire*, as in ii. 97. 25, of the Odrysian kingdom. The reading *ἐξουσία* of inferior Mss., adopted by St., P., B., v. H., is not a suitable word for an absolute monarchy. — 4. **καθελοῦσα**: (see on c. 4. 6) has the double obj. *Κροῖσον* (B.C. 549) and *ὅσα . . . θάλασσαν* (*sc.* *ἐστί*, as *εἰσί* in ii. 97. 25). *Cf.* Hdt. i. 71 ff. — **ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ**: *on the west side of the Halys*, from the point of view of the Greeks; *πρὸς θάλασσαν* from that of the Persians. The generic name is often thus joined with the special, which takes the attrib. position. *Cf.*

ἠπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους.

17 Τύραννοι δὲ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὔξειν, δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν, ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μή τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὑτῶν ἑκάστοις. [οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.] οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε κοινῇ φανερὸν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.

ii. 97. 3; iv. 102. 3; vi. 4. 2. — **6. Δαρεῖος δὲ κτέ.**: acc. to Hdt. i. 169, the Ionians, *οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες, i.e.* the Chians and Samians (c. 142), had surrendered to Cyrus. But Thuc. is probably right in placing their subjugation after the battle of Lade (B.C. 494?). *Cf.* Hdt. vi. 7–17.

17. *The tyrants also in the Greek states employed their power in no important wars.*

1. τύραννοι δὲ κτέ.: we have here the last of the τεκμήρια for the time before the Persian war. See note at end of c. 2. The position of *τύραννοι* (without art. before the attrib. rel. sentence, nearly = *ὅσοι ἐτυράννευον*) reminds us of the previous mention of *τυραννίδες* in c. 13. 3. — **2. προορώμενοι**: the Attic prose writers often use the mid. of compounds of *ὁρᾶν*, chiefly of intellectual perception. Kühn. 374, 3. — **ἔς τε . . . αὔξειν**: the two aspects of *τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν* (*their own interest*), their personal security (*cf.* vi. 9. 8) and the aggrandizement of their families. — **3. δι' ἀσφαλείας . . . ᾤκουν**: *administered their states* (*cf.* iii. 37. 18; viii. 67. 6) *in the way of the greatest attainable security.* For *διά*, *cf.* c. 40. 16; 73. 13; ii. 64. 2. — **4. ἀπ' αὐτῶν**: *as the result of their rule.* The execution might be by others. So *ἀπό* is frequently used with *πράσσεσθαι*, *cf.* iv. 76. 4; vi. 61. 6; viii. 48. 46; 68. 24; with *λέγεσθαι*, iii. 36. 24; 82. 41; vi. 32. 18, in all of which Cobet (*V. L.* p. 276) would read *ὑπό*. But see Herbst *gegen Cobet*, p. 49, who says, *ὑπό* dicitur de ipso actore, *ἀπό* de auctore. Sh. asks: "Why should copyists constantly change *ὑπό* into *ἀπό* after *such* verbs, and very rarely after others?" — **5. εἰ μή τι**: with the Vat. and other good Mss. for *εἰ μὴ εἴ τι*, which is not found elsewhere in Thuc. — **πρὸς περιοίκους . . . ἑκάστοις**: on the order, see on c. 1. 6. *ἑκάστοις* is not to be connected with *ἐπράχθη*, but with *περιοίκους τοὺς αὑτῶν* (though the gen. would be more regular), emphasizing the separate instances. — **6. οἱ γὰρ κτέ.**: see App. — **7. οὕτω πανταχόθεν κτέ.**: refers generally to the causes which hindered the rapid growth of Greek power, enumerated in c. 2 ff., before the Persian war, to which we pass in c. 18. *κατείχετο, was*

18 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἵ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς 1
ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ
πλεῖστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λα-
κεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν (ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν
5 κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
στον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιοτάτου

held back, checked. *Cf.* ii. 65. 33; iii. 62. 13. With ὥστε μή, iv. 130. 27; Hdt. viii. 57. 9. With simple inf. probably here only. On the neg., see GMT. 95, 2; H. 1029. The second clause, κατὰ πόλεις . . . εἶναι, contains the neg. in ἀτολμοτέρα, = μήτε κατὰ πόλεις τολμηρότερόν τι πράσσειν. φανερόν here = ἐπιφανές, ἀξιόλογον. *Cf.* Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 5. 58.

18. *Soon after came the Persian wars. Athens and Sparta, after a brief alliance, fell into hostility, and each strove to augment her own power.*

Chaps. 18 and 19 show that even the recent occurrences (τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν, c. 1. 10) were important chiefly as preparations for the Peloponnesian war.

1. οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος: followed by the supplementary description πλεῖστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι with repeated art. *Cf.* c. 2. 24; 23. 17; 108. 12; iii. 23. 8. ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος is a proleptic attrib., caused by κατελύθησαν. See on c. 8. 9. — 2. ἐπὶ πολὺ . . . τυραννευθείσης: for the order, see on c. 11. 19. ἐπὶ πολύ, *generally*, in local sense. *Cf.* ii. 34. 24. καὶ πρίν, *even earlier* than Athens. Before πρίν or πρότερον, καί = ἤδη. *Cf.* v. 14. 19; vi. 88. 23; vii. 15. 16; 68. 16. — 3. πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ: an exception to τελευταῖοι. In Sicily they maintained themselves to a later time. Besides the expulsion of the Pisistratidae (B.C. 510; *cf.* Hdt. v. 65) by Spartan help, we know only that after the death of Periander in Corinth (B.C. 585), of Clisthenes in Sicyon (B.C. 570), and of Theagenes in Megara (about B.C. 510), the Lacedaemonians favoured the restoration of the older order of things, and made an unsuccessful attack on Polycrates of Samos, about B.C. 525 (Hdt. iii. 39, 56). Therefore the words οἱ τύραννοι . . . κατελύθησαν are to be understood generally in the sense of the words in 10, τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίσταν. *Cf.* Arist. *Pol.* viii. 10. 30 (1312 b 7), Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας. See Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, I. p. 422.

4. τὴν κτίσιν: *the settlement.* *Cf.* the verb κτίζειν, c. 12. 5, 17; ii. 68. 6; v. 16. 32, *etc.* — 5. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον: *i.e.* down to the legislation of Lycurgus, which Thuc. places about B.C. 820 (Eratosthenes, 884); and so the unsettled period must have lasted two or three hundred years. Hdt. i. 65 agrees as to the fact. See Grote, II. c. 6, p. 340. — 6. ὧν ἴσμεν: common in the historians with sup. or μόνος (*cf.* Hdt. i. 142. 3; 178. 12; ii. 68. 7; iii. 60. 15; iv. 152. 13; 197. 5, *etc.*); assimilated to an antec., usually obvious; as in c. 4. 1; 13. 13; here probably πασῶν πόλεων is to be supplied. — ἐκ παλαιοτάτου: after the longest period of disturbance Sparta was the earliest to reach a settled state; implied by the aor. ἠνομήθη, to which is attached, as a natural result, ἀτυράννευτος ἦν. On this εὐνομία see C. Wachsmuth, Jahrbb. 14, p. 9.

καὶ ηὐνομήθη καὶ ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν), μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προύχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρός τε Ἀθηναίους

— 7. **μάλιστα**: see on c. 13. 11. — 8. **τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου**: see Introd. p. 24. — 10. **δι' αὐτό**: the condition described in 7. The subj. of the rel. clause is to be repeated with *καθίστασαν*. — **δυνάμενοι**: = *μέγα δυνάμενοι*. *Cf.* c. 33. 20. — 11. **καθίστασαν**: act., implying 'among and for others.' The mid., 'at home' or 'for their own interest.' *Cf.* c. 76. 2; 118. 8; ii. 6. 3; iii. 18. 6; 28. 17; 35. 7. — **μετὰ δὲ τὴν . . . κατάλυσιν**: a brief repetition of 1, *ἐπειδὴ κτέ*. On the repeated *δέ*, see on c. 11. 6. — 12. **ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος**: for position, see on c. 11. 19. — 13. **ἐν Μαραθῶνι**: see App.

14. **τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ**: as the current designation of the expedition of Xerxes. — 15. **δουλωσόμενος**: in c. 16. 6 the act. *ἐδούλωσε* has in view rather the sufferings of the conquered than the interests of the conqueror. — 16. **ξυμπολεμησάντων . . . ἡγήσαντο**: sor., as in c. 3. 8; 4. 2; 14. 6 (*joined in the war . . . took the lead*). But *ἡγοῦντο* in c. 19. 2, *they held the hegemony*. The gen. implies that their control was normal or rightful. — 17. **δυνάμει προύχοντες**: by the same natural law that had placed Agamemnon at the head of the Trojan expedition, c. 9. 1. It was on a similar basis of superior force already existing (c. 14. 12) that the Athenians after the second Persian war established their claim to leadership. — 18. **διανοηθέντες**: this partic. and *ἐσβάντες* stand on a par as conditions of *ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο*, but *ἀνασκευασάμενοι* (*τὰ σκεύη ἀναλαβόντες*, Schol.) is subordinate to *ἐσβάντες* as the necessary preliminary. **διανοηθῆναι**, *resolve* (c. 141. 2; iv. 13. 16; vii. 40. 17), *διανοεῖσθαι*, *have a mind*. — 19. **ἐσβάντες**: for *ἐμβάντες*. See App. — 20. **κοινῇ τε**: *and so by joint effort*. *Cf.* c. 4. 5. — 21. **διεκρίθησαν**: = *διέ-*

καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἵ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες· δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη· ἴσχυον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσί. καὶ 3 ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία, ἔπειτα δὲ διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταῖεν, πρὸς τούτους ἤδη ἐχώρουν. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε ἀεὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι, τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς **19** μελέτας ποιούμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑπο- 1

στησαν. *Cf.* 28; c. 15. 16. The subj. to ἀπωσάμενοι must be οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι with their allies; but the allies alone form the subj. of διεκρίθησαν, and there are included also those who were set free from the Persian yoke by the battle of Salamis; and so to the subj. thus extended οἵ τε ἀποστάντες . . . ξυμπολεμήσαντες is an explanatory appos. (*cf.* c. 2. 24; 13. 18), while the Athenians and Lacedaemonians now stand in obj. relation. *Cf.* ii. 16. 4; iii. 10. 17; 23. 8; 53. 17, for a similar change of subj. — 23. ταῦτα: *these states. Cf.* τῶν ναυτικῶν, c. 14. 2. — διεφάνη: *had shown themselves among all. Cf.* ii. 51. 9; iv. 108. 20; vi. 17. 20.

25. ξυνέμεινεν, ἐπολέμησαν: complexive aors., as in c. 6. 3. The latter refers to the struggle in B.C. 458–440, recorded in c. 107–115. — ὁμαιχμία: here only in Thuc. In Hdt. vii. 145. 11; viii. 140. 23. But ὅμαιχμος is used by the Plataean speaker in iii. 58. 19. — 28. διασταῖεν: the iterative opt. after εἰ (ὁπότε, ἐπειδή), followed as usual by the impf. GMT. 51; H. 894, 2. *Cf.* c. 49. 14; ii. 10. 5; vii. 71. 11. — ἤδη: *now, by this time,* the conditions described in c. 15. § 2 being now changed. — 29. ὥστε κτέ.: from hence to the end of the next chapter it is shown that the rivalry of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians after the Persian war caused the full development of their powers; and from this, with the increase of means of war, follows the preponderant importance of the Peloponnesian war. — ἀεί: belongs in effect to the following partics. as well as the finite verbs παρεσκευάσαντο and ἐγένοντο. — 30. σπενδόμενοι: *by concluding truces,* πολεμοῦντες, *by waging war.* For τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, *cf.* ii. 46. 2. — 31. ἀφισταμένοις: = ὁπότε ἀφίσταιντο. GMT. 109, 6; H. 902. *Cf.* c. 99. 13, and the whole of c. 89–118, where are the proofs of the brief statements here made.

19. *The hegemony of the Lacedaemonians differed from that of the Athenians.*

1. ὑποτελεῖς φόρου: so c. 56. 7; 66. 6; 80. 14; vii. 57. 13. Without φόρου,

τελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες, πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν· καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν.

20 Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα ηὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα 1 παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς

ii. 9. 15; v. 111. 20; vii. 57. 23, but just before φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι in the same sense. — 2. ἡγοῦντο: abs., *maintained their hegemony*. *Cf.* c. 77. 23; iii. 10. 13. — κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν . . . θεραπεύοντες: see App. κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν belongs to πολιτεύσουσι (*cf.* iii. 62. 8); the intervening words show that the object was to further the interests of the Lacedaemonians only, not those of the smaller states. *Cf.* c. 144. 13; iv. 76. 28; v. 81. 6; Lys. xiii. 51. Elsewhere Thuc. joins θεραπεύειν with inf. (*cf.* vi. 61. 25; vii. 70. 20), here with ὅπως, like σκοπεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, after which verbs the fut. indic. seems preferable to the aor. subjv., though the Mss. vary greatly. *Cf.* c. 56. 3; 57. 21; 82. 24. GMT. 45; H. 885. — 5. παραλαβόντες: *i.e.* causing to be delivered to them (παραδοῦναι is used of the allies themselves in c. 101. 13), while they increased their own fleet by the tribute exacted subsequently. *Cf.* c. 99. § 3. — Λεσβίων: these lost their independence after their revolt, B.C. 427. *Cf.* iii. 50. 5, where the same phrase is used. — 6. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς κτέ.: Cl. follows Grote, V. c. 44. p. 117, in understanding Thuc. to say that the power both of Sparta and of Athens was greater at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war than that of both together during the short time that the ὁμαιχμία lasted. See App. τὰ κράτιστα is adv. with ἤνθησαν. *Cf.* c. 31. 4; τὰ πρότερα, c. 2. 2; τὰ πλείω, c. 13. 17; τὰ τελευταῖα, c. 24. 12. The position of ἀκραιφνοῦς gives it the effect of a temporal sentence. The word occurs in c. 52. 8; not elsewhere in Att. prose.

20. *But men often judge of past events without thorough inquiry.*

1. ηὗρον: see on c. 1. 11. — χαλεπὰ . . . πιστεῦσαι: Sh. renders, *albeit difficult for one, hardly allowing one, to give credit to every link in the chain of argument;* the const. being that by which in Greek an adj. is used pers. when the impers. is more natural to us (H. 944; Kühn. 477 d) = καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὂν ἐμοὶ πιστεῦσαι αὐτὰ παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ (*cf.* Eur. *Hel.* 710, λόγοις δ' ἐμοῖσι πίστευσον τάδε). It is probable that πᾶν ἐξῆς τεκμήριον means the series of τεκμήρια actually alleged by Thuc.; but Cl. thinks it means every point of evidence, without exception, which presents itself. We find ἐξῆς with πᾶς in the sing. only in Dem. ix. 69, τότε χρὴ καὶ

ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἢν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ᾖ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται. Ἀθηναίων 2
γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἵππαρχον οἴονται ὑφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων, Ἵππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἱππίᾳ μεμηνῦσθαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότος, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον

ναύτην . . . καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι; in pl. in vii. 29. 21 and Dem. xxiv. 70. — 3. **ἀκοάς**: here in objective sense, *the things heard*. So ii. 41. 8 (*cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 11, ut falsas auditiones depellerem); elsewhere in Thuc. subjective, 'hearing,' 'apprehension.' *Cf.* c. 4. 1; 23. 10; iii. 38. 81; iv. 126. 15, 33; vi. 17. 23. — **σφίσιν**: in a dependent sentence refers to the subj. of the primary. *Cf.* c. 115. 23; iii. 108. 14; vi. 32. 9. — 4. **ὁμοίως**: *i.e.* as much as if the events had taken place among strangers, when a failure to examine would be more excusable. *Cf.* vii. 68. 14.

5. **γοῦν**: see on c. 2. 18; *so for instance*. — **τὸ πλῆθος . . . ἀποθανεῖν**: the popular belief which Thuc. opposes here, and more fully in vi. 55, was probably founded on ballads and erroneous views about the statues in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Hdt. v. 55; vi. 123 agrees with Thuc. The principal stress lies on **τύραννον ὄντα**, just as in 7 **πρεσβύτατος ὤν** gives the reason for **ἦρχε**. So in 9, **ὑποτοπήσαντες** stands at the head of its clause, since the failure was due to this mistaken suspicion. — 9. **ὑποτοπήσαντες**: a rare verb, used by Thuc. only in aor., and only in partic., except in iii. 24. 4 inf. (for in v. 35. 14; viii. 76. 6, **ὑπόπτευον** is the true reading). Hdt. vi. 70. 4; ix. 116. 15 has aor. pass. with act. meaning. The mid. occurs in Ar. *Ran.* 958; *Thesm.* 496; and in Lys. ix. 4. — **καὶ παραχρῆμα**: *at the very moment of execution* (precisely **παρὰ τὸ χρῆμα**), a more exact definition than **ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ**, *on that (famous) day*. — 10. **ἐκ τῶν . . . μεμηνῦσθαι**: Sh. renders, *that information had been conveyed from the body of their fellow-conspirators*. **ἐκ** would not have been joined with the sing. *Cf.* iii. 69. 3; vi. 36. 9. **ἐκ** is found often in Hdt. and the Att. poets for **ὑπό** with pass. H. 798 c; Kühn. 430, 2. — 12. **δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι**: *to do something if they* must *risk their lives*. Sh. *Cf.* iii. 53. 14; iv. 11. 20. Tac. *Hist.* i. 21, acrioris viri esse merito perire. — 13. **περιτυχόντες**: **περιτυγχάνειν** dicitur, qui non quaerens, **ἐπιτυγχάνειν**, qui quaerens in aliquid cecidit. Herm. — **Λεωκόριον**: the sanctuary of the daughters of Leos, an

καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέ-
15 κτειναν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ 3
χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς
οἴονται, ὥσπερ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ
ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πι-
τανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὕ-
20 τως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

21 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἄν 1
τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διῆλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε

old Attic king, who in a famine were sacrificed for the state. It was in the inner Ceramicus near the temple of Apollo Patrous. — 14. **τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπήν**: on the 24–29 Hecatombaeon (July).

16. **καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι**: *i.e.* not the Athenians only. — 17. **οἴονται**: used only here with obj. acc. Elsewhere with inf. or abs. *Cf.* ii. 54. 10; iv. 64. 13. — **ὥσπερ . . . πώποτε**: the statements here denied by Thuc. are apparently made by Hdt. vi. 57. 30, on the double vote of the Lacedaemonian kings, and ix. 53. 9, on the **Πιτανάτης λόχος**; and we can hardly doubt that Thuc. has those passages in view. Cobet, Mnem. 12, p. 158, explains that Hdt. means that the *one* nearest kinsman of the kings cast two votes for the kings, if both absent, and a third for himself, and that the pl. *τοὺς μάλιστα προσήκοντας* is used because this kinsman would not always be the same. Paus. iii. 16. 9, speaks of a **κώμη Πιτάνη**, as Hdt. iii. 55 calls it **δῆμος**. On this question see Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, Jan., 1878. The unusual expression **ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι** (quite unlike c. 40. 18, **ψῆφον προστιθέμεθα**) probably means that the kings voted last. See Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece*, I. p. 233. The neg. **μή**, because this clause is appos. to **πολλὰ ἄλλα**. See Am. J. of. Ph. I. p. 49. — 21. **τὰ ἑτοῖμα**: what lies nearest at hand, taken without scrutiny, and therefore having no guarantee of accuracy.

21. *An unprejudiced examination of the proofs adduced must result in a conviction of the superior importance of the Peloponnesian war.*

1. **ὅμως**: *i.e.* although **χαλεπὰ ὄντα κτέ.**, c. 20. 1. — 2. **ἃ διῆλθον**: obj. of **νομίζων**, with **τοιαῦτα μάλιστα** (see on c. 13. 11) as pred., *pretty nearly such* as I have described them. The same obj. must be supplied with **πιστεύων**, 4, and **ἡγησάμενος**, 7. Cl. regards these partics. as cond. prot. to **ἁμαρτάνοι ἄν**, but he has not observed that the neg. with the second is **οὔτε — οὔτε**, not **μήτε — μήτε**. The last two really express the cause of *the writer's* conviction of the correctness of his result, and only the first is cond., = **εἴ τις νομίζοι**, where **τις** may be regarded as a disguised **ἐγώ** (Kühn. 470, 1). What he feels to have been the cause of his own escape from error must be the condition of a similar escape on the part of any one

ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα, ηὑρῆσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧ μὲν 2 ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγενημένος

who may pursue the same investigation. — 4. **ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν**: see App. — **ξυνέθεσαν**: aor., refers to records of facts recently compiled by writers of prose, and probably points to Herodotus. It implies merely the collection and recording of a mass of facts, not, like *ξυγγράφειν* and the Lat. res componere, an elaborate inquiry and systematic treatment. *Cf.* c. 97. 10. — **ἐπὶ τὸ . . . ἀληθέστερον**: *rather to tickle the ear in public recitation than to reach the truth.* The repeated comp., as in Lat., expresses that of two qualities in the same object, one exists in larger measure. *Cf.* Hom. *α* 164; Hdt. iii. 65. 11; Plat. *Theaet.* 144 b. H. 645; Kühn. 543, 5. The adv. periphrasis with *ἐπί* as in c. 3. 6, and 9. 20. *ἀκρόασις* here and in c. 22. 14 of public recitations at festivals. — 5. **ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα . . . ἐκνενικηκότα**: these words are in formal agreement with *ἃ διῆλθον*, though referring specially to the misstatements of poets and chroniclers; *stories which cannot be tested, and most of which have from lapse of time passed into the region of romance destitute of all credibility.* For *ἐκνικᾶν*, *cf.* c. 3. 11. — 7. **ηὑρῆσθαι**: as expressing the result of diligent inquiry (*cf.* c. 1. 11; 20. 1; 22. 12) stands first in its clause in contrast with *κοσμοῦντες* and *ξυνέθεσαν*. — 8. **ὡς . . . ἀποχρώντως**: *sufficiently considering their antiquity.* *ὡς* suggests a natural limit to what it is fair to expect. *Cf.* c. 10. 34; iv. 84. 9; Kühn. 581, 5. Not usually, as here and Hdt. iv. 81. 4, with the restrictive inf. of iv. 28. 5 (*τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι*); Plat. *Prot.* 317 a (*κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι*). GMT. 100, N. 2; H. 956; Kühn. 479, 4.

9. **καὶ ὁ πόλεμος κτέ.**: "and so, though men are apt, while they are engaged in war, to judge the present one always most important, but when it is over to look with greater wonder on those ancient events, still this war, which I am going to narrate, will show to persons who form their opinions on the basis of facts, that it proved really more important than they." *αὐτῶν = τῶν παλαιῶν.* In this chapter the importance of the Peloponnesian war is compared with that of *τὰ παλαιά* (see on c. 1. 10), and the next chapter is not, as Kr. thinks, out of place, but comes in quite properly to contrast the modern critical methods with the uncertified traditions of early poets and logographers. With

22 αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες 1
πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς
ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς
δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ
δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπά-
σης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται· τὰ 2
δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πα-
ρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ
ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών· ἐπιπόνως 3

ἐν ᾧ ἂν πολεμῶσι *cf.* Plat. *Phaed.* 67 a, ἐν ᾧ ἂν ζῶμεν. GMT. 62; H. 914. For δηλώσει = δῆλος ἔσται, *cf.* ii. 50. 4; Soph. *Ant.* 20, 471. Kr. *Spr.* 56, 7, 5; Kühn. 482, 2.

22. *The writer has taken pains to set forth a true account of what was said as well as of what was done during the war, without aiming at mere entertainment.*

1. **καὶ ὅσα μὲν κτέ.**: the distinction between the two chief elements of the narration, the speeches and the facts, is enforced by the pleonasm of ὅσα λόγῳ εἶπον followed by τῶν λεχθέντων, and of τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων in 8. These aors. as well as διαμνημονεῦσαι and ἤκουσα are complexive. See on c. 6. 3. — 3. **διαμνημονεῦσαι**: (Xen. *Mem.* i. 3. 1; but not elsewhere in Thuc.) refers to the mass of material as well as to the length of time. With ἀπαγγέλλουσιν must be supplied ὧν ἤκουσαν. — 4. **ὡς δ' ἂν . . . εἰπεῖν**: the ἄν belongs to εἰπεῖν, and μάλιστα to the whole phrase, as in c. 21. 2, expressing the greatest practicable probability. For ἀεί, see on c. 2. 4. **τὰ δέοντα**, *the sentiments proper to the occasion* (Jowett), from the point of view of the historian; all that was necessary to bring out the inner connexion of events. See Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 565. — 6. **ἐχομένῳ . . . λεχθέντων**: *adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said.* — 7. **οὕτως εἴρηται**: *sc. ἐμοί, so have I represented them as speaking; οὕτως* sums up his method. *Cf.* c. 37. 4; vi. 2. 25. The pf. εἴρηται is most naturally explained on the assumption that when Thuc. wrote this Introduction, he had already completed a large part of his work.

8. **τῶν πραχθέντων**: includes all the incidents of the war, plans, negotiations, *etc.*, as well as military operations, in reference to all of which ἔργα stands in opposition to λόγοι. — **τοῦ παρατυχόντος**: *the first chance comer.* This verb is used of persons or things which present themselves by accident. *Cf.* iv. 19. 6; 103. 12; and the impers. παρατυχόν, c. 76. 14; v. 60. 11. — 9. **ἠξίωσα**: *I thought it my duty* as an historian. ἀξιοῦν with inf. properly 'to regard as worthy of one's self.' — 11. **ἐπεξελθών**: to be under-

δὲ ηὑρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ 4
μυθώδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως

stood, not of statement, as in iii. 67. 1, but of inquiry, as antecedent to *ἠξίωσα γράφειν*. The fundamental meaning 'pursue to the end' admits both senses. *Cf.* Plat. *Parm.* 128 d, *εἴ τις ἱκανῶς ἐπεξίοι*; *Tim.* 38 d, *αἰτίας πάσας ἐπεξιέναι*. The object of the inquiry is expressed by (1) *οἷς αὐτὸς παρῆν*, (2) *περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, in regard to other matters* of which I was not a witness. See App. To both belongs *ὅσον . . . ἑκάστου, with the utmost possible accuracy in detail.*

12. **ηὑρίσκετο**: see on c. 1. 11; impf. to denote the continuous effort. The subj. is *τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων*. — 13. **εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης**: dependent on *ὅς τις ἔχοι*, as in *ὡς τάχους τις εἶχε*. *Cf.* ii. 90. 19; vi. 97. 14; vii. 2. 2; viii. 102. 5. G. 168, N. 3; H. 757; Kühn. 419, 5. *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 53, ut quisque audentiae habuisset. See on c. 36. 11. **ἑκατέρων**, a certain correction of *ἑκατέρῳ* of most Mss., depends on *εὐνοίας*. *Cf.* vii. 57. 56, and *κρεισσόνων*, c. 8. 15. **ἔχοι** is iterative opt. Authorities varied in their reports according as they were inclined to favour one or the other party.

14. **καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν κτέ.**: having described his mode of composition, Thuc. here characterizes his work as regards the two aspects of entertainment and utility, employing the particles *καί . . . μέν . . . δέ*, as in c. 19. 1, 3, to mark the contrast. "And it may well be that the absence of fabulous narration from my history will make it seem less attractive to the ear; but for such as shall desire to gain a true picture both of the past and of what is likely at some time hereafter, in accordance with the course of human nature, to prove either just the same or very like it — for such persons to judge that my history is profitable will be enough for me. And so it has been composed rather as a treasure for all time than as a prize composition to please the ear for the moment." **ἀκρόασιν**, as in c. 21. 5, and **ἀγώνισμα**, in 19, refers to public recitation at festivals. — 15. **αὐτῶν**: as *αὐτά* in 18, refers to the subject of discussion, *i.e.* his work. See on c. 1. 10. — **βουλήσονται**: anticipates readers in the distant future. — 16. **τὸ σαφές**: limited as well by *τῶν γενομένων* (the past) as by *τῶν μελλόντων . . . ἔσεσθαι* (the probable future). Thuc. gives in ii. 48. 14 an example of his meaning in describing the symptoms of the plague, *εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι*. — 18. **κρίνειν**: *τούτους* must be supplied as subj., the antec. of *ὅσοι βουλήσονται*. For the const. of *κρίνειν* with obj. and

ἔξει, κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παρα-
20 χρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

23 Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μη- 1
δικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαιν καὶ πεζομαχίαιν
ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε· τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός
τε μέγα προύβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν
5 αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ 2
πόλεις τοσαίδε ληφθεῖσαι ἠρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρ-

pred., *cf.* c. 21. 10; ii. 34. 15; 43. 23; iv. 61. 22. — 19. **τε**: *and so*, inferential, as in c. 4. 5. Pliny, *Ep.* v. 8. 11, refers to this passage: plurimum refert, ut Thucydides ait, **κτῆμα** sit an **ἀγώνισμα**, quorum alterum oratio (*i.e.* a work of rhetorical art), alterum historia est. *Cf.* also Polyb. iii. 31. 12. — **ἀγώνισμα**: means a special feat at an **ἀγών**; here, like **ἀκρόασις** in 14, referring to the delivery of a show-piece at a public gathering, like that reported of Herodotus (Lucian, *Herod.* i.) — **ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν**: *cf.* ii. 11. 29, **ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν**. This whole phrase is opp. to **ἐς ἀεί**, not the adv. part merely, as Cl. says. — 20. **ξύγκειται**: = the pf. pass. of **ξυντιθέναι**.

23. *The Peloponnesian war surpassed the Persian war in duration and in the many calamities by which it was attended. A general statement of its cause.*

1. **τῶν δὲ πρότερον κτέ.**: connected with the close of c. 21, where this war is compared with **τὰ παλαιά**, by **δέ** (*cf.* c. 33. 1) rather than by **γάρ**, because of the interposed account of his method in c. 22. — 2. **δυοῖν . . . πεζομαχίαιν**: since Thuc. has in view the expedition of Xerxes (**ὁ μέγας στόλος** of c. 18. 14), the Schol. is probably right in saying that these battles were the sea-fights of Artemisium and Salamis and the land-battles of Thermopylae and Plataea, which brought a decisive **κρίσις**. *Cf.* c. 89. 3. **δυοῖν** is to be supplied with the second noun; in such cases Thuc. usually employs **ἴσος**. *Cf.* **τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν**, ii. 97. 5; i. 115. 13; iii. 75. 12; v. 20. 12; 57. 12. But v. H. thinks that with the dual nothing need be supplied. — 3. **τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου κτέ.**: the importance which Thuc. here attributes to the war is grounded not on the serious interests involved nor on the character of the military operations, but on its unusual duration and the great number of disastrous occurrences which attended it. So must we understand the words **παθήματα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι**, as well as those in 17, **ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο**. The preceding gen. serves as an art. to **μῆκος**. *Cf.* c. 1. 11; 3. 1. — 4. **μέγα**: pred. to **προύβη**, indicating the result. *Cf.* c. 90. 21; 93. 6. — **ξυνηνέχθη**: = **ξυνέβη**. *Cf.* vii. 44. 3; viii 83. 4; 84. 1, and often in Hdt. — 5. **οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα κτέ**: a common formula for what is extraordinary. *Cf.* vii. 70. 15; viii. 1. 12; and similarly iii. 113. 21. No inference can be drawn as to a definite duration from the words **ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ**.

6. **ὑπὸ βαρβάρων**: as Mycalessus,

βάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων (εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλισκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαίδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πό-
λεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν 3
λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα, οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἳ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοί τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐ-

vii. 29; perhaps also Colophon, iii. 34. — 7. **ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν**: = *ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*, the Athenians and Peloponnesians being the virtual subj.; opp. to *τῶν βαρβάρων*. Examples are, Plataea, iii. 68. § 3; Mitylene, iii. 50; Thyrea, iv. 57. § 3. — **εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ**: sunt quae. G. 152, N. 2; H. 998. *εἰσίν* is more common than *ἔστιν* when the rel. is nom. (*cf.* 15). Kühn. 554, 5. — 8. **οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον**: *e.g.* Aegina, ii. 27; Potidaea, ii. 70; Anactorium, iv. 49; Scione, v. 32; Melos, v. 116. — **ἁλισκόμεναι**: partic. impf. — **φυγαὶ κτέ.**: *sc. ἐγένοντο*, *e.g.* in Plataea, ii. 5. 30; of the Plataeans, iii. 68. § 2; of the Melians, v. 116. *κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον*, *i.e.* directly in consequence of the war. — 10. **διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν**: in Corcyra, iii. 81. ff.; iv. 47; Megara, iv. 66. ff.; Samos, viii. 21. There may well have been other instances which the narrative omits, as having no direct connexion with the war. This remark applies particularly to the *σεισμοί*, 12 (*cf.* ii. 8. 9; iii. 87. 9; 89. 4, 17; iv. 52. 3; v. 45. 20; 50. 26; vi. 95. 2; viii. 6. 29; 41. 9), and to the *ἡλίου ἐκλείψεις*, 13 (ii. 28. 2; iv. 52. 1), of which many others must have been observed in Greece in 27 years; also to the *αὐχμοί* and *λιμοί*, 15, of which no particular instance is mentioned; for it is clear that he means here (15, *ἀπ' αὐτῶν*), and in ii. 54. 7, famine as the result of failure of crops.

τά τε πρότερον . . . κατέστη: *and so stories of former times reported on hearsay, but too scantily confirmed by fact, ceased to be incredible.* — 12. **σεισμῶν τε πέρι**: both as to earthquakes = *earthquakes for instance*. *Cf.* c. 52. 9, where the clause with *περί* is parallel to an acc. Though this clause strictly belongs to the preceding subj. *τὰ πρότερον κτέ.*, the following rel. sentence, *οἳ . . . ἐπέσχον*, refers only to occurrences of this war; and, as if explanatory of *τὰ πρότερον*, nom. cases (as *ἐκλείψεις*) follow, for which a verb like *ἐγένοντο* must be supplied out of *οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη*. The two sup. expressions are closely united by *ἅμα . . . οἱ αὐτοί*. — 13. **ἐπέσχον**: *prevailed*, intr., with *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μέρος γῆς* as adv. definition. *Cf.* c. 50. 7, where, however, *ἐπὶ πολύ* is obj. of *ἐπέσχεν*, as we find neut. objs., c. 48. 7; ii. 77. 13; iii. 107. 24; vii. 62. 18. *Cf.* also iii. 89. 6, *τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων*. — 14. **παρὰ τὰ κτέ.**: "running beyond those recorded of former times," and so pleonastic (*cf.* the Lat. prae) with a comp. *Cf.* iv. 6. 6. G. 191, VI. 4; H. 802, 3; Kr. *Spr.* 49, 2, 8. — 15. **αὐχμοί**: pl. as siccitates, Caes. *B. G.*

τῶν καὶ λιμοί, καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθη- 4
ναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις
σπονδὰς αἳ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν. διότι 5
δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφα- 6
σιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι με-
γάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἵδ' ἦσαν ἑκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

v. 24. — **ἔστι παρ' οἷς**: = **παρ' ἐνίοις**. *Cf.* **ἔστιν ἐν οἷς**, v. 25. 9; viii. 65. 3. See on 7. — 16. **ἡ . . . νόσος**: the repetition of the art. lays stress on the partic. *Cf.* c. 126. 10; viii. 64. 6; 90. 27; Hdt. viii. 92, **τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην (νέα)**; Plat. *Gorg.* 502 b; Dem. XIX. 26. **μέρος τι** is adv., *to a* (*considerable*) *degree*, not obj.; so that **φθείρασα** is a stronger **βλάψασα**. *Cf.* ii. 64. 7; iv. 30. 2. — 18. **ξυνεπέθετο**: complexive, as in c. 6. 3. **ἐπιθέσθαι**, as of hostile forces.

ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ κτέ.: the narrative of the beginning of the war is carried on in ii. 1. The following words **διότι δ' ἔλυσαν κτέ.** announce the contents of the rest of this book. — 19. **τριακοντούτεις**: *cf.* c. 115. § 1. B.C. 445. In such words we find the forms *-οὑτεις* (c. 115. 3; ii. 2. 2) and *-οὑτιδες* (c. 87. 19; v. 32. 19; Ar. *Ach.* 194; *Eq.* 1388). — 21. **πρῶτον**: for a similar pleonasm, *cf.* ii. 36. 1; iii. 53. 9; vi. 57. 10; viii. 66. 6. — 22. **τοῦ . . . ζητῆσαι**: see on c. 4. 6.

23. **πρόφασιν**: here of the actual reason or occasion. *Cf.* c. 118, 3; 133. 7; 141. 4; ii. 49. 4; vi. 6. 3; Dem. XVIII. 156, **τὴν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν**. If we take **τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μεγάλους . . . ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν** as obj. of **ἡγοῦμαι** and **τὴν ἀληθεστάτην . . . λόγῳ** (*the truest cause of this war, though least voiced*, Bacon) as pred. (the art. being required by the sup.), we need not, with most commentators, assume an irregularity or mixture of consts. — 24. **τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . πολεμεῖν**: the stress of the sentence lies on the partic. clauses (see on c. 100. 16) rather than on **ἀναγκάσαι**. *Cf.* c. 82. 10; ii. 61. 3. For **ἀναγκάσαι ἐς**, *cf.* ii. 75. 14; vii. 62. 15. — 26. **ἐς τὸ φανερόν**: = **φανερῶς**, but with the notion of coming forward in public. *Cf.* c. 6. 17. — 27. **αἰτίαι ἑκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν**: proleptic for **αἰτίαι ἀφ' ὧν ἑκάτεροι**. Kühn. 600, 5. For **ἀπό**, *cf.* c. 12. 5. The **ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι** include c. 24–55 the **Κερκυραϊκά**, and c. 56–66 the **Ποτειδαιατικά**. And then, after the negotiations at

24 Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτην ἀπῴκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο Φαλίος Ἐρατοκλείδου, Κορίνθιος γένος, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατακληθείς· ξυνῴκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο [ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις] μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος· στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων

Sparta and the decision there arrived at, we reach in c. 88–118 the narrative of the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις of the war, viz. the alarming growth of the Athenian power, which is thus, in Greek fashion, placed after ostensible ones. The remaining chapters, 119–145, contain the concluding consultations and decisions at Sparta and Athens.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN CORINTH AND CORCYRA. Chaps. 24–55.

24. *Origin and early history of Epidamnus. The commons appeal in vain to Corcyra for help against the attacks of the banished aristocrats.*

1. **Ἐπίδαμνος**: Dyrrhachium of the Romans, now Durazzo, on the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic. A name thus placed is a common mode of beginning a narrative. *Cf.* Hom. τ 172; or with preceding ἔστι, γ 293; δ 844. So c. 126. 6; Cic. *Verr. Act.* II. iv. 33; Virg. *Aen.* i. 12. — **ἐσπλέοντι**: see on c. 10. 34. This verb only here in prose with simple acc.; with prep., ii. 86. 19; 89. 30; 92. 22; 94. 4; iv. 75. 5; viii. 99. 17. So also ἐσάγειν, ἐσβάλλειν, ἐσβαίνειν, ἐσκομίζειν, ἐσφέρειν always with prep. in prose. — 2. **προσοικοῦσι**: with acc. Arist. *Pol.* i. 8. 7. In. iv. 103. 10; v. 51. 3 it is abs. — 3. **ἀπῴκισαν**: Ol. 38. 2; B.C. 627. — 4. **Φαλίος**: so accentuated in distinction from the adj. φάλιος or φαλιός. See Lehrs, *de Aristarcho*, p. 279; Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, § 249. — **Ἐρατοκλείδου**: the gen. of the father's name without the art., as in ii. 67. 13; 99. 25. — 5. **τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους**: as vi. 3. 6, Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, probably one of the Bacchiadae. The gen. of the whole depends directly on the personal name. — **δή**: *naturally*; often used in explanatory clauses. *Cf.* ii. 102. 28; iii. 104. 2. On the custom itself, see vi. 4. § 2; and on the connexion between a colony and the mother city, *cf.* c. 25. § 4; 34. § 1; 38. § 2. — 6. **κατακληθείς**: only here in Thuc.; found again in Polyb., Strab., and Plut. — 7. **γένους**: = ἔθνους. So in iv. 61. 14; vii. 27. 2; 29. 23.

8. [**ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις**]: the Mss. vary between πόλις and δύναμις, thus betraying that the words are a gloss, as Stahl rightly judged. — 9. **στασιάσαντες**: agreeing κατὰ σύνεσιν with πόλις. *Cf.* iii. 2. 2, Λέσβος . . . βουληθέντες; 79. 9, πόλιν . . . ὄντας. — 10. **ὡς λέγεται**: belongs to ἔτη πολλά,

βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τούς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλῦσαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἱκέται καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον ἐδέοντο, οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἱκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὖσαν ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ

as this formula always stands immediately after or within the words it qualifies, never before them. *Cf.* c. 118. 21; iii. 79. 10; vi. 2. 20; vii. 86. 17; viii. 50. 16. It indicates not doubt, but only vagueness in the tradition. — **ἀπὸ πολέμου**: see on c. 12. 5. The real cause of this war lay in their internal divisions. — **τῶν βαρβάρων**: gen. as in 19 and c. 32. 14. — 11. **ἐφθάρησαν**: *they became crippled*. *Cf.* c. 2. 17.

12. **τὰ τελευταῖα**: see on c. 2. 2. — 13. **ἐξεδίωξε**: a rare compound, only here in Thuc. In Dem. XXXII. 6, where the vulgate has this compound, the best Ms. Σ has **διωκόμενος**. — **τοὺς δυνατούς**: so the **ὀλίγοι**, the party opposed to the **δῆμος**, are often called. *Cf.* ii. 65. 8; iii. 27. 8; v. 4. 8; viii. 21. 4. — **ἐπελθόντες**: Haase's conjecture for **ἀπελθόντες** of Mss.; for the aor. partic., related as it is to **ἐλήζοντο**, must express the notion of attack, not of moving off. But Sh. and B. take **οἱ ἀπελθόντες** together = 'the exiles,' opp. to **τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει**.

17. **περιορᾶν**: the pres. inf. as including all subsequent times; the following aor. infs. with special reference to immediate necessities. GMT. 23, 1. The same distinction in c. 25. 6 and 10. "**περιορᾶν** with pres. partic. implies *inactive perception* = 'look on with indifference'; with aor. partic. (ii. 18. 22) implies *non-perception* = 'shut one's eyes to.' Both these occur in Dinarch. II. 8. With inf. (ii. 20. 6) it has lost its notion of perception, and becomes simply = **ἐᾶν**, 'permit.' B. L. G. — 19. **ἱκέται καθεζόμενοι**: aor. (not impf., *cf.* c. 26, 19; vii. 77. 22) of **ἱκέτην καθίζειν**, which forms a simple notion, 'to seek for protection.' *Cf.* c. 136. 10; iii. 70. 19; 75. 22. *Cf.* the Homeric **ἄγγελον ἐλθεῖν**, Hom. B 786; Γ 121; Ε 804, *etc.* — 20. **Ἡραιον**: rather than **Ἡραῖον**, acc. to Vat. Ms. and Arcadius. See Chandler, § 357 and 360.

25. *The Corinthians are ready to lend the Epidamnians the aid they ask for.*

2. **τιμωρίαν**: in Hdt. (iii. 148. 14;

παρόν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο, εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῷντο ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. * ἐλθόντες δὲ 2
οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τόν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν διαφθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατά τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἧσσον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύ- 4

vii. 169. 11) and Thuc. (c. 38. 15; 58. 5; 69. 30, *etc.*), *help*; later, 'vengeance.' — **οὖσαν**: = *ὑπάρχουσαν*. See on c. 2. 5. — **ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο**: this expression occurs here only; in iii. 22. 31, *ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν*, also with inf. In Hdt. iv. 131. 2, *ἐν ἀπορίῃσι* (ix. 98. 3, *ἐν ἀπορίῃ*) *ἔχεσθαι*. Plat. *Phaed.* 108 c; *Gorg.* 522 a, *ἐν πάσῃ ἀπορίᾳ ἔχεσθαι*. — **θέσθαι**: *to arrange, manage*, in a general sense (*cf.* c. 41. 15; 75. 16; iv. 17. 12; 18. 11; 59. 14; 61. 23; v. 80. 3; vi. 11. 26); then *settle*, as here *τὸ παρόν, their present difficulty*. *Cf.* c. 31. 15; 82. 27; viii. 84. 19 (*τὸν πόλεμον*); iv. 120. 22; v. 80. 3 (*τὰ πράγματα*). In the latter sense there is no need, as there is in the former, of an adverbial qualification. — **τὸ παρόν**: nearly as freq. sing. as pl., without important difference of meaning; *cf.* c. 77. 19; 133. 13; ii. 22. 1, *πρὸς τὸ παρὸν* (59. 10, *πρὸς τὰ παρόντα*) *χαλεπαίνειν*; 36. 18; 54. 8; iii. 40. 35, *etc.*; it varies with *περί πρός, ἀπό*, but always *ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων*. — 3. **ἐπήροντο**: here and iii. 92. 19; viii. 29. 6 aor. to the pres. *ἐπερωτᾶν*, ii. 54. 13; v. 45. 15, and the impf. *ἐπηρώτων*, i. 118. 20. — 4. **παραδοῖεν**: opt. of the deliberative subj. *παραδῶμεν*. GMT. 21, 2 *b*; 71. *Cf.* Hom. A 191, *μερμήριξεν ἢ ὅ γε . . . ἀναστήσειεν*; c. 63. 3. — **τιμωρίαν ποιεῖσθαι**: if correct, = auxilium sibi conciliare. See App. The regular sense of opem ferre in c. 124. 4. — 8. **σφῶν**: as possessive gen. with *τὸν οἰκιστήν*. So often in Thuc.; rare in other Attic writers. *Cf.* c. 30. 14; 50. 19; 136. 10; ii. 5. 20; iv. 55. 3. Here a direct refl., as the more emphatic *ἑαυτῶν* in 12. — 11. **κατά τε τὸ δίκαιον**: followed in 13 by *ἅμα δὲ καί*. This irregularity in the use of the particles is probably due to the number of intervening words. *Cf.* c. 11. 4. Kühn. 520, note 3. — **ὑπεδέξαντο**: polliciti sunt: used with acc. (ii. 95. 9) as well as with fut. inf. (ii. 29. 25; viii. 81. 21). — 14. **παρημέλουν**: here only in Thuc. *Cf.* Hdt. i. 85. 14; Xen. *Mem.* ii. 2. 14.

οὔτε γὰρ κτέ.: Cl. and B. follow Stahl (Jahrb. 1863, p. 465, 466; 1868, p. 176) in removing the period at the end of the chapter, in order that

ρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαι-

the sentence introduced by γάρ may find a verb in the ἔπεμπον of c. 26. 2; though, owing to the intervention of several partics. and the parenthesis at 22, ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον . . . πολεμεῖν, the structure is changed from οἱ Κερκυραῖοι [ἐγκλήματα παρεῖχον τοῖς Κορινθίοις] to οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες ἔπεμπον. v. H., however, follows Badham in omitting γάρ, that the partics. may be connected with the subj. of παρημέλουν; and Sh. produces the same result by understanding γάρ (= γε ἄρ) in its primitive meaning 'in fact,' 'in sooth,' Germ. *nämlich*. See his note; and on this use of γάρ, Heller, Philol. 13, p. 114; Bäumlein, *Partikeln*, p. 68 ff.; Bursian's Jahrb. 15, p. 272. A good example is Hom. Κ 127, ἵνα γάρ σφιν ἐπέφραδον ἠγερέθεσθαι. So Sh. explains vii. 28. 13. — 15. γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα: for the order, see on c. 1. 6. Acc. to Diod. xii. 30. 4 these were the offerings which should be sent to the chief festivals of the mother city, called κοιναὶ πανηγύρεις, because the colonies had part in them. On these offerings, see the decree about Brea, *C. I. A.* I. 31, l. 11; Hicks, *Inscr.* p. 37, and Schol. on Ar. *Nub.* 386; and on the whole subject, Am. J. of Ph., V. p. 479 ff.

16. προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν: refers to the sacred usages at the beginning of the sacrifice (see Buttm. *Lexilogus*, I. 103, and *cf.* Hom. γ 445; Hdt. ii. 45. 6; iv. 60. 9; 103. 4; Ar. *Av.* 959; Eur. *I. T.* 40), as the cutting off hair from the forehead of the victim and distributing it to those present. *Cf.* Hom. Γ 273, ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνε τρίχας· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις. So we must understand προκαταρχόμενοι (which occurs only here in a religious sense) with the Schol., διδόντες πρότερον (*sc.* ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις) τὰς καταρχάς, and that in the normal state of things citizens of a mother city who were present at a sacrifice in a colony received the καταρχαί of the victims first. The two clauses joined by οὔτε — οὔτε refer, therefore, to the fulfilment of such dutiful obligations in the mother city as well as in the colony. — 17. περιφρονοῦντες: like ὑπερφρονεῖν (iii. 39. 30; vi. 68. 10) in meaning and const., but in this sense only here in Attic. *Cf.* Ar. *Nub.* 225, ΣΩΚΡ. ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον. ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς; — ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες: = δυνατοί; used with the gen., as in iii. 93. 6; Plat. *Rep.* 328 c. With this is joined ὁμοῖα in adv. sense; *cf.* vii. 29. 24; Hdt. iii. 8. 1; 57. 9; vii. 118. 7; 141. 4. δυνατώτεροι in 19 is its comp. Thus the partic. ὄντες with its two preds. is subord. to περιφρονοῦντες, giving a double reason for their pride. See App. — 20. ναυτικῷ δὲ κτέ.: to the two real grounds of arrogance (χρήματα and παρασκευή) is added a third, based on the mythical

ρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς· (ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύοντο τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἤρχοντο
26 πολεμεῖν·) πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ 1
Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὠφελίαν, οἰκήτορά τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουρούς.
5 ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν 2
ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύωνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι. Κερκυραῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ 3
ᾔσθοντο τούς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουροὺς ἥκοντας ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον τήν τε ἀποικίαν Κορινθίοις δεδομένην, ἐχα-

fame for naval skill of the Phaeacian inhabitants of their island. Thuc. disparages this reason by the use of ἐπαιρόμενοι, which generally has an unfavourable sense (c. 84. 9; 120. 20, 24; iii. 37. 28; vi. 11. 23), and by ἔστιν ὅτε with καὶ κατὰ τὴν κτέ., "and boasting their great superiority also in naval power sometimes actually (καί) on the ground of the former occupation of the island by the Phaeacians, whose glory lay in their ships." — προέχειν: after ἐπαιρόμενοι = gloriantes, as αὐχεῖν with inf. in ii. 39. 18. — 21. τὴν τῶν . . . . Κερκύρας: note the position of the governing noun between the subjective and the objective gen., as in ii. 49. 37; 89. 46; iii. 12. 10; vii. 34. 25. — 22. ἐχόντων: for the position, see on c. 11. 19. — ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον: see on c. 11. 8. — 23. καὶ ἦσαν: et erant, *and they actually were.*

26. *The Corinthians send a garrison to Epidamnus. After fruitless negotiations, the Corcyraeans besiege the place with forty ships.*

2. ἔπεμπον: the impf. of this verb used as aor., since the activity of the sender is regarded as going along with the person sent. So ἀποστέλλειν (ii. 85. 10; iii. 49. 5). *Cf.* κελεύειν, 11, δεῖσθαι, 14. See on c. 10. 34. — 3. οἰκήτορα: = ἔποικον, ii. 27. 5. — 4. φρουρούς: formally construed with ἰέναι κελεύοντες, but in sense rather dependent on ἔπεμπον. — 5. Ἀπολλωνίαν: a Corinthian colony, south of Epidamnus, also in the country of the Taulantii. — 6. δέει . . . ὑπ' αὐτῶν: a proleptic const., the pass. form of which makes ὑπ' αὐτῶν necessary. In the act. it would be μὴ σφᾶς κωλύωσι.

8. τούς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουροὺς . . . . τήν τε ἀποικίαν: by τε . . . τε the two members are united on the same level (see on c. 8. 14), while τοὺς οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουρούς are joined together as one whole, as in 15, and, with stronger discrimination of the two parts, in c. 28. 4, τοὺς φρουρούς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας. — ἥκοντας . . . δεδομένην: these pf. partics. indicate that all was finished when they learned it. *Cf.*

λέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσί, καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ, τούς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς (ἦλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους τε ἐπιδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προϊσχόμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν), τούς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπειν. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς κατάξοντες, καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προεῖπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν

ii. 3. 2. — **11. καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ**: inserted here in anticipation of 18, where the fleet of 25 ships, which was despatched immediately, is augmented by 15. — **12. κατ' ἐπήρειαν**: *ἐπηρεασμός* is defined by Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 2. 4, *ἐμποδισμὸς ταῖς βουλήσεσιν (τοῦ πλησίον) οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ (γένηται) ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ*. It implies, therefore, wanton malice. The Corcyraeans had no interest in the restoration of the nobles. — **13. τάφους**: *i.e. τοὺς πατρῴους* (iii. 59. 13), of their common ancestors, who had founded Epidamnus. — **14. προϊσχόμενοι**: this verb or *προέχεσθαι* (c. 140. 24), like *προβάλλεσθαι* (c. 37. 16; 73. 13; ii. 87. 14; iii. 63. 9), and *προφέρεσθαι* (iii. 59. 11), means 'to bring forward as a reason,' 'to appeal to.' — **15. κατάγειν**: regularly used of the restoration of exiles. *Cf.* 18; c. 111. 3; ii. 33. 4; 95. 9; v. 16. 31; viii. 53. 4.

16. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι . . . οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κτέ.: instead of this parataxis of clauses, we should have looked for *ἐπεὶ . . . ὑπήκουσαν, στρατεύουσιν*. The decisive matters are thus placed in strong contrast. Though the subj. is changed, after the neg. *ἀλλά* is used. *Cf.* c. 58. 6; ii. 70. 2; iii. 45. 16. Otherwise *καί* is employed. *Cf.* c. 48. 3; 61. 2; 105. 29. The aor. *ὑπήκουσαν* stands in the sense of our plpf. in a protasis. *Cf.* c. 62. 6; 63. 11; ii. 2. 12; iv. 3. 9, *etc.* Before *στρατεύουσιν*, as St. rightly remarks, we must understand *οὐ πείσαντες*, for *οὐδὲν ὑπήκουσαν* = *οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν*. See App. In *τεσσαράκοντα ναυσί* the reinforcement spoken of in 11 is silently assumed. For the acc. *οὐδέν*, *cf.* c. 139. 9; v. 114. 2: *αὐτῶν* is neut. and part., since with *ὑπακούειν* Thuc. uses a pers. gen. always without acc. *Cf.* ii. 62. 22; iii. 50. 14; iv. 56. 16; v. 84. 11; vi. 71. 15; 82. 8; 87. 5; viii. 5. 19 (abs., i. 143. 33; with dat., iv. 63. 12; v. 98. 3). We have here *αὐτῶν* with aor. (not as in c. 29. 1, *τούτων* with impf.) in reference to the demand made by the first squadron, 10, which had not been regarded. See Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 274.

19. προσκαθεζόμενοι: with acc. *Cf.* c. 61. 8; v. 61. 16, where, however, the acc. may be governed by *πολιορκεῖν*. But *cf.* c. 24. 2 and Kühn. 409, 8. — **20. προεῖπον κτέ.**: *announced publicly*. See on c. 29. 3. Note the change of subj. with the following

βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον) ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν
27 πόλιν· Κορίνθιοι δ', ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλ- 1
θον ἄγγελοι ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο στρατιάν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλοι ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τἀργύριον καταβάλλοντες. ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ 2

infs. (as in Hdt. ii. 115. 29), and that the former represents the imv., the latter the indic., of dir. disc. — **23.** **ἰσθμός**: a remark inserted to show the ease of the operation. — **ἐπολιόρκουν**: obsidere coeperunt.

27. *The Corinthians make preparations to support the Epidamnians and appeal to their allies.*

1. **αὐτοῖς**: see on c. 13. 12. — **3.** **ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ . . . ἰέναι**: defines more exactly the obj. **ἀποικίαν**. Both are dependent on **ἐκήρυσσον**. On the phrase, see on c. 14. 15. As **ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης** (*cf.* c. 15. 11) marks a starting point, so **ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ** refers to conditions. The two adjs. together, without distinction of meaning, constitute a formula (aequo et pari iure, Cic. *Off.* i. § 124). *Cf.* c. 145. 6; iv. 105. 12; v. 27. 12; 59. 24: and with similar meaning **ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις**, v. 79. 2; Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 1, 13, 45. See Curtius, Herm. 10, 234 f. — **4.** **εἰ δέ τις . . . ἀποικίας**: when a case is supposed with *εἰ*, in order that a further supposition may be then made about it, the indic. is used in the former and the opt. in the latter; and what seems to us the natural order is often inverted in Greek. Here: "a man, suppose, is desirous (**βούλεται**) to take part in the scheme; should such a one be unwilling (**μὴ ἐθέλοι**) to sail at once." The same moods and order in Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 4 (**ἔχοι . . . ἀνέχεται**); indic. in first place, Plat. *Phaed.* 67 e (**διαβέβληται . . . φοβοῖντο**); Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 6. 7 (**δέχῃ . . . λάβοιμι**). The opt. here, therefore, is not due to the indir. disc. *Cf.* c. 5. 14. — **6.** **δραχμὰς Κορινθίας**: the Corinthian standard being like the Aeginetan (see Boeckh, *Publ. Ec.* p. 28), the Corinthian drachma (**παχεῖα**) : the Attic (**λεπτή**) :: 10 : 6 (obols). So Cl. But this ratio is disputed by Hultsch, *Griech. und Röm. Metrologie*, p. 540. — **καταθέντα**: and **καταβάλλοντες**, 8, of depositing as security, to be forfeited if the pledge should not be fulfilled. *Cf.* Plat. *Prot.* 314 b; 328 c. — **7.** **πολλοί**: pred. to the two partic. subjs. united on the same level by **καί** — **καί**. See on c. 8. 14.

8. **ἐδεήθησαν δὲ κτέ.**: the main points of the action of the Corinthians, expressed by aors., 8, 11, 14, are separated by short notices of the results.

σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν, εἰ ἄρα κωλύοιντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν, καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαρσι· καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδεήθησαν, οἳ παρέσχον πέντε, Ἑρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ· Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ᾔτησαν καὶ Φλιασίους, Ἠλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται.

28 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυωνίων πρέσβεων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουρούς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς

— 9. **ξυμπροπέμψειν**: only inferior Mss. have *ξυμπροπέμψαι*, which has, however, been adopted by St., B., and v. H. So the fut. inf. is found in the best Mss. after *βούλεσθαι*, vi. 57. 10; *ἐφίεσθαι*, vi. 6. 4; *δυνατὸν εἶναι*, iii. 28. 2. See on ii. 29. 26 and vi. 6. 4. GMT. 27, N. 2 *a*; Kühn. 389, note 8; Stahl, *Quaestiones grammaticae*, p. 8. — **εἰ ἄρα**: *if, as might be expected.* See Heller, Philol. 13, p. 118. — 11. **Κεφαλλήνων**: part. gen., as in c. 24. 5; 29. 10; 30. 15; v. 67. 7. — 14. **Θηβαίους**: *αἰτεῖν* is used by Thuc. with acc. of person only in connexion with *χρήματα*. *Cf.* viii. 44. 6; 85. 20. Elsewhere the person, if expressed, is governed by *παρά*. The fulfilment of the last request is mentioned in c. 30. 9. — 15. **κενάς**: inanes, the hulls only; opp. to *πλήρεις*, c. 29. 2. — **Κορινθίων**: prop. names often without art. when joined with *αὐτός* (*cf.* ii. 31. 10; iii. 98. 19; vi. 30. 6; 31. 12), by which the absence of alien elements is indicated. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 11, 14.

28. *The Corcyraeans once more require the Corinthians to abstain from protecting the Epidamnians.*

3. **παρέλαβον**: usually of support in war; here and viii. 92. 40, of additional advocates of a proposal. The Lacedaemonians would naturally be chosen, as being in favour at Corinth. — 4. **φρουρούς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας**: with a single art. See on c. 6. 1. — **ὡς οὐ μετόν**: the subjective *ὡς* with the abs. partic. and the neg. *οὐ* of fact (connected with *ἐκέλευον*, not with *ἀπάγειν*) indicate the confidence of the assumption. In dependence on the imv. idea of *κελεύειν* we should have *μή*. *Cf.* vii. 77. 35; Ar. *Ran.* 128.

5. **ἀντιποιοῦνται**: *sc.* Ἐπιδάμνου. *Cf.* iv. 122. 15. — 6. **δίκας δοῦναι**: *cf.* c. 85. 9; 144. 15; iv. 118. 35; one side, and here the most important, of the full *δίκας διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι* (*cf. δίκαια*, c. 37. 21, and *δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας*, v. 27. 12; 59. 24), "to submit the quarrel to a fair discussion and arbitration." — **παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς**: = *παρ' αἷς*. See

ἂν ἀμφότεροι ξυμβῶσιν. ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν· ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείῳ ἐπιτρέψαι· πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἴων ποι- 3
10 εῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται, ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον, ὠφελίας ἕνεκα. οἱ δὲ 4
Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἢν τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπαγάγωσι, βουλεύσεσθαι·
15 πρότερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἢν καὶ 5
ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσειν ταῦτα·

on c. 1. 12; 6. 21. — 7. **ξυμβῶσιν**: *sc.* **δίκας δοῦναι**. — 8. **ἤθελον δέ**: this emphatic repetition (epanaphora) of the verb, the clause **ὁποτέρων . . . κρατεῖν** being parenthetic, indicates their willingness to accede to any friendly adjustment.

9. **πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἴων ποιεῖν**: (not **ποιεῖσθαι**) "against causing war they strongly protested." **οὐκ ἐᾶν** as c. 127. 10; vi. 72. 7. *Cf.* Hdt. v. 36. 7, **οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον ἀναιρέεσθαι**. The aor. inf. used for the positive recommendations, **δοῦναι, ἐπιτρέψαι**, the pres. for the dissuasive, **ποιεῖν**. — 10. **εἰ δὲ μή**: introduces the alternative, whether a positive clause, or, as here, a neg., precedes. GMT. 52, 1, N. 2; H. 906. After this transition **ἔφασαν**, which Kr. suspects, can hardly be dispensed with. See the similar case in ii. 5. 22. — 11. **οὓς οὐ βούλονται**: a covert allusion to the alliance with the Athenians, which, as **οὐ** shows, was already contemplated, with whom they would naturally not desire to unite themselves, as being of a different race. — 12. **τῶν νῦν ὄντων**: the gen. depending on **ἑτέρους**. G. 175, 1, N. 1; H. 753 g. This refers rather to the Lacedaemonians and Sicyonians, who were with them, than to the Illyrians (c. 26. 19), whom they would hardly call **φίλοι**. — **ὠφελίας ἕνεκα**: placed at the end, implying that if their claim of right is rejected, interest alone must guide their action. See App.

14. **ἀπαγάγωσι**: the best Mss. give **ἀπάγωσι**, and the pres. partic. in c. 29. 18; but the connexion of thought requires the aor. here, as in the precisely similar case in 17: the withdrawal must take place first, and then only can negotiations be entertained. — **πρότερον**: *before this takes place*, belongs not to **καλῶς ἔχειν** but to **δικάζεσθαι**, to which **πολιορκεῖσθαι**, though in parataxis, is in sense subord.: "it was not proper that, while the Epidamnians were undergoing siege, they (the Corinthians and Corcyraeans) should dispute about their rights." — 15. **αὐτούς**: acc., although inclusive of the speakers, from the contrast with **τοὺς μέν**. Kühn. 476, 1.

17. **ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ**: directly opp. to **τοὺς . . . ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου** of 14. The

ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

29 Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ 1 πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, προπέμψαντες κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προεροῦντα Κερκυραίοις, * ἄραντες ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισ- χιλίοις τε ὁπλίταις ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες· ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν 2 Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους, τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμός τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν 3 Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός

Corinthians had troops actually in Epidamnus, who, as not really Epidamnians, could not be described by the proleptic τοὺς ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου. — 18. ἑτοῖμοι δ' εἶναι κτέ.: supply δικάζεσθαι from 16, *they were ready for a judicial settlement*. *Cf.* v. 41. 10. ὥστε, *on condition that* (*cf.* c. 29. 22; iii. 28. 4; iv. 65. 3; vii. 83. 8), introduces both μένειν and ποιήσασθαι, the latter being aor. to mark the new step which would then be taken. κατὰ χώραν, *as they were*. See App.

29. *The Corinthians are defeated in a sea-fight off Actium, and Epidamnus surrenders to the Corcyraeans.*

2. πλήρεις ἦσαν and 17, ἐπεπλήρωντο: the regular terms for the manning of ships. *Cf.* c. 35. 5; 47. 2; 141. 14; vi. 32. 1; vii. 37. 17. — 3. προπέμψαντες: *sending forward*, προεροῦντα (προαγορεύειν), *to announce publicly*. *Cf.* c. 140. 22; ii. 13. 9; iv. 97. 18. In neither word is πρό temporal, and therefore πρότερον is not pleonastic, as πρῶτον is in c. 23. 21. — 4. ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε: therefore in addition to the 68 mentioned in c. 27. § 2, there must have been others, probably those of the Eleans. There is no reason for preferring the number 70, given by Diod. xii. 31. In c. 27. 16, we have τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται; but 1000 may have been elsewhere employed; and 2000 corresponds well with the 75 ships, since in early times there were 30 ἐπιβάται (later 20) in a trireme. Boeckh, *Publ. Econ.* p. 383. — 5. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον: *in the direction of, to succour, Epidamnus*. — 6. ἐναντία: acc. of inner obj. as adv. Kühn. 410, note 5. So ὁμοιότροπα, c. 6. 24; ὁμοῖα, c. 25. 18; ἀγχώμαλα, vii. 71. 21. — ἐστρατήγει: sing. preceding several subjs. G. 135, N. 1; H. 607. — 7. Τιμάνωρ κτέ.: other instances of names of father and son formed from the same roots are Ναυσίφιλος Ναυσιλίκου, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδου, Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένους, *etc.*

10. Ἀκτίῳ: at that time only a sanctuary of Apollo, where games were celebrated every second year. Augustus founded to the north of it the town of Nicopolis, to commemorate his victory over Antonius, B.C.

ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπερροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλοίμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. ὡς δὲ ὁ κῆρύξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐ- 4
δὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὖσαι ὀγδοήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν), ἀνταναγαγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς πεντεκαίδεκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ 5
δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογίᾳ ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δήσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι 1
τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κερκύρας ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς ἑλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτει-

31. — 13. **ἐπλήρουν**: in parataxis with *προέπεμψαν*. *Cf.* c. 26. 17; impf. to indicate that they began then to man the ships. — 14. **ζεύξαντες**: applied to the strengthening of ships by new cross-planks; *ζυγώματα αὐταῖς ἐνθέντες*, Schol. Cartault, *La trière Athénienne*, p. 42. — 15. **ἐπισκευάσαντες**: of other kinds of repair which ships might need on putting to sea. The completion of all these preparations is expressed by the plpf., 17, which is unusual in a prot. — 17. **τεσσαράκοντα γάρ**: referring to c. 25. 24, *τριήρεις εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς*. — 18. **ἀνταναγαγόμενοι**: see App. — 19. **ἐνίκησαν**: the aor. of the fact simply: usually the resulting consequences are included by the use of the impf. See on c. 13. 31. — **παρὰ πολύ**: *decisively*. *Cf.* ii. 8. 13; 89. 16; iii. 36. 27; viii. 6. 16. Kühn. 440, p. 445.

21. **αὐτοῖς**: *i.e.* to the Corcyraeans in general. — 22. **παραστήσασθαι**: in Thuc. only in aor. (*cf.* c. 98. 8; 124. 18; iii. 35. 2; iv. 79. 12), *to reduce*, serving as causative to *προσχωρεῖν τινι*, 'to submit.' *Cf.* c. 74. 24; 103. 10; 117. 13, *etc.* **τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον** must be repeated as obj. — **ὥστε**: *on condition that*; see on c. 28. 18. — **τοὺς ἐπήλυδας**: *i.e.* the *οἰκήτορας* of c. 26. 8. — 23. **Κορινθίους**: probably the larger part of the *φρουροί*, c. 26. 4. — **δήσαντας ἔχειν**: = *ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔχειν*. *Cf.* c. 30. 4; 52. 9; ii. 5. 23; 6. 8; iii. 32. 11; 34. 16; iv. 21. 5; v. 42. 10, *etc.* See on c. 38. 15.

30. *Further hostilities on the part of the Corcyraeans; new preparations of the Corinthians.*

2. **Λευκίμμῃ**: (not Λευκίμνῃ) the S. E. promontory of Corcyra, now Leukimo. — 3. **οὓς . . . αἰχμαλώτους**:

ναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δήσαντες εἶχον. ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ 2
οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνε-
χώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἁπάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς
κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς
Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ
Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ
χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖ- 3
στον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς
τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι
οὗ Κορίνθιοι περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ
στρατιάν, ἅπερ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
οντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος,
φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων
ὅσαι σφίσι φίλιαι ἦσαν· ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ 4
Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ· ἐπέ-
πλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντι-

i.e. those taken in the sea-fight, as to whom no agreement had been made; not those taken in Epidamnus. — 5. **ἡσσημένοι**: chiefly used in pf. of defeat sustained. *Cf.* c. 63. 2; v. 73. 7; vi. 72. 8; vii. 40. 5. — 6. **ἐκράτουν**: the impf. denotes their continued superiority. *Cf.* iii. 32. 14; vii. 57. 34. The following aors. **ἔτεμον, ἐνέπρησαν** express the particular facts which ensued. — 8. **τῆς γῆς**: part. gen., often with *τέμνειν*. *Cf.* ii. 56. 17; vi. 75. 8; 105. 18. G. 170, 1; H. 736; Kühn. 416, note 2. But the acc. often occurs also. *Cf.* c. 81. 12; ii. 19. 8; 20. 15; 57. 8; 73. 6; iii. 26. 15; 88. 12; and ii. 56. 11, *τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν*. — 9. **ἐπίνειον**: in ii. 84. 33 again, of the Elean naval station at Cyllene. — **ναῦς καὶ χρήματα**: *cf.* c. 27. 15.

10. **τε**: *and so*. See on c. 4. 5. — **τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον**: see on c. 2. 12. The meaning of these words is doubtful. It is probable that they denote the remainder of the year available for war after the sea-fight, and that *περιόντι τῷ θέρει* in 13 means when the first summer was drawing to a close. But some suppose that these expressions include besides the earlier portion of the succeeding summer. See App. — 14. **σφῶν**: the pron. gen. thus placed has almost the effect of a dat. of interest. *Cf.* c. 35. 15; 71. 15; 82. 14; ii. 27. 9. — 15. **Χειμέριον**: see on c. 46. 9.

17. **ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο**: after the verb in 14 a kind of epanaphora: see on c. 28. 8. *Cf.* c. 128. 1, 6. — 19. **τὸ θέρος τοῦτο**: the summer succeeding the battle; and so the *χειμών* next spoken of is the first winter after the

καθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

31 * Τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας μισθῷ πείθοντες. * * πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἔνσπονδοι οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὠφελίαν τινὰ πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὑρίσκεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Κο-

1 2 3

same event. — 20. **ἤδη**: to be taken closely with *χειμῶνος, when it was now winter*. *Cf.* *νυκτὸς ἤδη*, iii. 106. 12; *πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη*, v. 17. 7; *ἡμέρας ἤδη*, v. 59. 2; similarly, *ἔτι νύκτα*, ii. 3. 16; *ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ*, iii. 13. 5. *Cf.* c. 103. 8.

31. *The Corcyraeans and the Corinthians betake themselves to Athens.*

1. **τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν . . . ὕστερον**: the two years of preparation here spoken of include the period mentioned in c. 30. 13–20, *i.e.* from spring of 434 to spring of 432. The embassy of the Corcyraeans to Athens may have been sent at the beginning of 432, when the preparations of the Corinthians were nearing completion. Krüger, *Stud.* I. p. 218 ff. — 2. **ὀργῇ φέροντες**: *pressing on with the zeal of anger*. *Cf.* v. 80. 7, *θυμῷ ἔφερον*. iv. 121. 4, *τὸν πόλεμον προθύμως οἴσειν*. — 4. **τὰ κράτιστα**: adv., as in c. 19. 8. — **ἔκ τε αὐτῆς κτέ.**: the prep. is to be repeated before *τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος*. See on c. 6. 21. If *ἐκ* governed both gens., it should have run, *ἐξ αὐτῆς τε . . . καὶ τῆς ἄλλης*. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 59, 2; Kühn. 520, note 5. — 5. **μισθῷ πείθοντες**: subord. to *ἀγείροντες*. *Cf.* c. 18. 19; 25. 18.

7. **καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ . . .) ἔδοξεν**: a causal sentence, thus placed in parataxis before the main one, is common in Hdt., and not rare in Thuc. *Cf.* c. 57. 16; 87. 2; iii. 70. 11; 107. 16; vii. 48. 12; viii. 109. 3. Since here *καί* belongs to the principal sentence, and the const. is not confused as in c. 72. 1, the causal should be separated by a parenthesis. Here *ἔνσπονδοι* is a subst., *allies*, with gen.; in c. 40. 15; iii. 65. 19, it is adj. with dat. G. 181; H. 754; Kühn. 423, note 24. — 8. **ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτούς**: *had had themselves enrolled*, in the list of allies who were parties on one side or the other to the *σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτεις*, c. 115. § 1. — 10. **ξυμμάχους**: attracted by the understood subj. of inf. G. 136, N. 3; H. 941; Kühn. 475, 2 a. *Cf.* c. 12. 2. The inf. *γενέσθαι* does not depend on *πειρᾶσθαι*, for they were seeking only what the terms of the treaty allowed. See c. 35. § 2. — 11. **εὑρίσκεσθαι**: *to procure for themselves (by effort)*. *Cf.* c. 58. 6; v. 32. 25.

ρίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ βούλονται. καταστάσης δὲ ἐκκλη- 4
σίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε·

32 "Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης 1
μήτε ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἥκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὡς καὶ ξύμφορα δέον-
ται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ

13. **πρεσβευσόμενοι**: in v. 39. 7 the pres. partic. in same sense; both are equally permissible. Cobet rejects the word in both places, since, elsewhere, Thuc. always uses the mid. **πρεσβεύεσθαι** = legatos mittere (c. 126. 1; ii. 7. 16; iv. 41. 14; vi. 104. 14), whereas legatum esse is **πρεσβεύειν** (not in Thuc.; but in vi. 55. 11, it = maiorem esse natu). — 14. **ἐμπόδιον γένηται**: = **κωλύσῃ**, and so followed by inf. GMT. 95, 2; H. 963. — 15. **θέσθαι**: see on c. 25. 2. — **καταστάσης**: *cf.* iii. 36. 23, of an assembly convened for a special purpose, *i.e.* **σύγκλητος**. Schömann, *Ant. of Greece*, I. 380. — 16. **ἦλθον**: *sc.* **ἑκάτεροι**, to which here *οἱ* **Κερκυραῖοι**, and in c. 36. 22 *οἱ* **Κορίνθιοι**, are in part. appos. On these speeches see Grote, V. c. 47, p. 321.

SPEECH OF THE CORCYRAEAN AMBASSADORS AT ATHENS. Chaps. 32–36.

32. § 1, 2. *Whoever asks for aid without being able to appeal to obligation, should show that the granting of his request will be attended with advantage and not injury to those who help him.*

1. **μήτε εὐεργεσίας . . . προυφειλομένης**: *without having any claim on the score of important service rendered or of alliance. Cf.* Hdt. v. 82, **ἡ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη**. The pres. partic. expresses the *standing* obligation, **μήτε**, the hypothetical generality of the thought. — 2. **τοὺς πέλας**: has no local meaning, but simply = *others, his neighbours. Cf.* 16; c. 37. 13, 20; 69. 13; 70. 2, *etc.* — 4. **ἀναδιδάξαι**: *show on the contrary* or *rather;* for the absence of previous claim would be likely to give rise to an unfavourable judgment. *Cf.* iii. 97. 2; viii. 86. 4. — **πρῶτον**: has its correlative in **ἔπειτα δέ**. *Cf.* v. 31. 3; 61. 15; vi. 2. 18; vii. 23. 5. Its position gives it prominence enough without **μέν**, which before **μάλιστα μέν**, *if possible*, would have been objectionable. — **καὶ ξύμφορα**: implies 'not only help for himself.' **δεῖσθαι** properly takes gen. of person or of thing, but not often together as in 23. Kühn. 417, 2. But a neut. acc. of inner obj. is freq. found. *Cf.* Xen. *An.* vii. 2. 34, **ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.** Here it = **ξύμφορον δέησιν δέονται.** — 5. **ὅτι γε**:

τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἣν ἀτυχῶσι. Κερκυραῖοι 2 δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. τετύχηκε δὲ 3 τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρός τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον· ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἑκούσιοι 4 γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἥκομεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρῆμοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν. καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σω-

with conjs. and preps. γε is often placed before what it really emphasizes; here οὐκ ἐπιζήμια.

7. **Κερκυραῖοι δέ**: *and now the Corcyraeans.* δέ brings their case under the general rule. *Cf.* c. 121. 1; ii. 64. 28; iii. 10. 7. — 8. **μετὰ . . . τῆς αἰτήσεως**: the obj. gen. is often placed first. *Cf.* c. 65. 13; 84. 13; iii. 23. 27; v. 53. 11; vii. 42. 30. — **ταῦτα**: *i.e.* the advantage their alliance would bring to the Athenians, and the certainty of their gratitude. — 9. **παρέξεσθαι**: mid., as in ii. 62. 32, implying that the powers of the subject are exerted. 'Dynamic mid.' Kr. *Spr.* 52, 8, 2.

§ 3–5. *We must indeed admit that our former rule, of keeping aloof from all entangling alliances, does not justify itself in view of the danger which now threatens us from the Corinthians; and we now renounce it.*

9. **τετύχηκε δὲ κτέ.**: before they proceed to give the promised justification of their petition (which comes in c. 33), the δέ, *and in truth,* introduces a recognition of the perilous mistake of their previous behaviour. The pred. adjs. ἄλογον, ἀξύμφορον after τετύχηκε without a partic. *Cf.* c. 106. 4; ii. 87. 23; Soph. *Aj.* 9; *El.* 46, 313; Ar. *Av.* 760; Kühn. 483 c. Herbst, Philol. 24, p. 652. **τετύχηκε**, *it has turned out,* indicates the unusual coincidence of two bad results of the same cause (τὸ αὐτό). — 10. **ἐπιτήδευμα**: *a course of conduct* based on principles; of individuals, vi. 15. 18; 28. 13; of states and peoples, c. 71. 9; 138. 4; ii. 37. 11; vi. 18. 19. The consistent carrying out of the same is ἐπιτήδευσις, ii. 36. 15; vii. 86. 26. — **πρὸς ὑμᾶς**: *in your eyes;* **ἐς τὴν χρείαν**: *in respect of the request we make;* **ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι**: *as regards our position at the present time.* — **ἡμῖν**: belongs to τετύχηκε ἄλογον καὶ ἀξύμφορον. The **ἄλογον**, "involving a contradiction," is explained by 12, ξύμμαχοί τε . . . ἥκομεν, the ἀξύμφορον by 13, καὶ ἅμα . . . καθέσταμεν.

12. **ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ**: with χρόνῳ, ii. 58. 12; 73. 10; without χρόνῳ, iv. 72. 13, including all past time up to the present. Note the behaviour of the Corcyraeans recorded in Hdt. vii. 168. — 14. **Κορινθίων**: to be joined with πόλεμον. *Cf.* Xen. *An.* ii. 5. 7, τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον. — **καθέσταμεν**: *here we stand;* an emphatic ἐσμέν, with pred. adj. *Cf.* c. 70. 3; ii. 59. 9; iii. 40. 10; 102. 26; iv. 26. 25; vi. 15. 17; vii. 28. 31. — 15. **περιέστηκεν κτέ.**: the verb

φροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὁρῶμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυγγνώμη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.

33 "Γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία

expresses the change and its result. *Cf.* c. 78. 5; 120. 27; iv. 12. 12; vi. 24. 6; 61. 18; vii. 18. 26; viii. 1. 9. The partic. **φαινομένη** of actual manifestation, opposed to **δοκοῦσα** of fallacious appearance. *And so* (**καί**, introducing the final consequence) *what was formerly regarded as our wise discretion, in that we took no share in the risks of the policy of others by joining in a foreign alliance, has now at last* (**περι-**) *shown itself to be sheer want of foresight and weakness.* The inf. clause **τὸ μὴ . . . ξυγκινδυνεύειν** is in appos. to **ἡ . . . σωφροσύνη**. *Cf.* c. 41. 8; vii. 36. 26. **ἀβουλία** and **ἀσθένεια**, the result of the **ἄλογον** and **ἀξύμφορον**.

17. **τὴν μὲν οὖν . . . ναυμαχίαν**: though grammatically construed with **ἀπεωσάμεθα** after the analogy of **νικᾶν τινα μάχην**, has at the head of the sentence an almost abs. position; *as regards the victory, however.* This effect must be often noted where the construction offers no difficulty. *Cf.* 33. 16; 73. 10; 86. 7; 142. 6; ii. 62. 1; iii. 15. 4. — 18. **κατὰ μόνας**: *single-handed. Cf.* c. 37. 17. An elliptical phrase with no certain supplement. See on c. 14. 15. — 20. **ὥρμηνται**: *have made themselves ready for war. Cf.* ii. 9. 1; vi. 33. 6. — 22. **καὶ ἅμα**: adds a new reason; not here temporal. See on c. 2. 9. — 22, 24. **κίνδυνος, ἀνάγκη, ξυγγνώμη**: usually without **ἐστί**. Kühn. 354 b. *Cf.* iv. 61. 17; v. 88. 1. Here for **κίνδυνος** we must supply **ἔσται** or **ἂν εἴη**. — 23. **ὑμῶν . . . παντός**: dependent on **δεῖσθαι**, to which here is joined also the gen. of the thing. *Cf.* Hdt. v. 40. 7; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 19. — 24. **μή**: belongs only to **μετὰ κακίας**, not to the verb. *Cf.* c. 37. 6; iii. 14. 7. — 25. **τολμῶμεν**: *we venture, decide.* The thing to be encountered is not a danger but an unfavourable judgment.

33. *The proof we offer consists in the fact that, in return for your support which will bind us to eternal gratitude, we bring you our fleet, second only to your own, and that too at a time when the Peloponnesians have already resolved upon war with you, and wish only to get us out of the way first.*

1. **γενήσεται δὲ κτέ.**: recurs to the promise of c. 32. § 2, with **δέ** as in c. 23. 1. — **καλή**: not in a moral sense,

κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετ' ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε, ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον. καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς 2 τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἣν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος, ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἑαυτὴν καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ'

but an enhanced ξύμφορος. *Cf.* c. 93. 11; ii. 84. 12; and ἐν καλῷ, v. 59. 17; 60. 11. — ἡ ξυντυχία τῆς . . . χρείας: *the present occurrence of our request;* the fact that we now come before you with our prayer. *Cf.* iii. 45. 18; 82. 14; 112. 26; v. 11. 17; vi. 54. 2; vii. 57. 5. — 2. κατὰ πολλὰ κτέ.: the points are introduced by πρῶτον μέν, ἔπειτα, and τε in 6 (the postscript τε: B. L. G. on Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 22. 10. *Cf.* c. 2. 6). Since the three clauses depend alike on ὅτι, we must read καταθήσεσθε for κατάθησθε (καταθῆσθε) of the Mss.; and with ὡς ἄν must be supplied δύνησθε καταθέσθαι (*cf.* Isae. iii. 21; Lys. xxiv. 4; Dem. xviii. 256, 280), not καταθεῖσθε, as Cl. says, referring to vi. 57. 13, where the main verb is past, not fut. as here. "You will lay up for yourselves in the highest possible degree a store of well-deserved (τήν) gratitude, with an ever-abiding record, in the fact that the maintenance of our independence will be due to your support."

7. σκέψασθε κτέ.: after λυπηροτέρα, where the sentence might close with the easy supplement of ἢ αὕτη, the εὐπραξία is enforced by the enumeration of its favourable features in the sentence εἰ ἣν . . . ἰσχύν. The insertion of ἤ before εἰ ἣν would only weaken the effect. *Cf.* Lys. xiii. 77, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος μιαρώτερος, ὅστις — ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν ὡς τούτους; Eur. *Alc.* 879, τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κακὸν μεῖζον, ἁμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου; In such cases the inf. or rel. sentence is explanatory of a τούτου or ταύτης which is sometimes expressed, as in Aesch. *Ag.* 601, τί γὰρ γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν, . . . ἀνδρὶ . . . πύλας ἀνοῖξαι; Plat. *Gorg.* 519 d; sometimes, as here, omitted. Kühn. 542, note 6. — 8. εἰ ἣν . . . αὐτεπάγγελτος: εἰ with indic. presents the actual case more vividly to the mind than the causal ἐπεί would do. *Cf.* c. 76. 8; 86. 4; iv. 10. 20. The rel. clause with the antec. incorporated in it (G. 154; H. 995), ἣν δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, which is the obj. of ὑμεῖς ἂν . . . ἐτιμήσασθε (*cf.* iii. 40. 33; vi. 10. 17), is placed first for effect, and then resumed by the emphatic αὕτη. *Cf.* c. 83. 8. αὐτεπάγγελτος, *offering itself,* from the mid. ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. So in iv. 120. 18. — 11. ἐς τοὺς πολλούς: *in the eyes of the world.* — 12. ἀρετήν: gen-

αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν· ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοι ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἧσσον διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον δι' ὅνπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν 3 εἶμεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμησείοντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους, δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας, [καὶ] προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθει κατ' αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν μηδὲ

erosity, which is ready to succour the needy. *Cf.* c. 69. 7; ii. 40. 22; iii. 56. 27. Here = **δόξαν ἀρετῆς**, *the repute of magnanimity*. Kühn. 346, 6. B. L. G. on Pind. *Py.* IV. 173. *Cf.* Soph. *Ant.* 924, **τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ' ἐκτησάμην**. — **οἷς δ' ἐπαμυνεῖτε . . . ἰσχύν**: *and gratitude in the hearts of those whom you shall help, and increase of strength for yourselves*. — 14. **καὶ ὀλίγοι . . . παραγίγνονται**: *few, when they beg for an alliance, come and offer to those whom they call upon* (c. 101. 3) *security and honour in no less degree than they expect to receive them*. Here **κόσμος** (see on c. 5. 11) corresponds to **ἀρετή**, and **ἀσφάλεια** to **χάρις** and **ἰσχύς**.

16. **τὸν δὲ πόλεμον**: though subj. of **ἔσεσθαι**, has almost the effect of an abs. acc. See on c. 32. 17. See App. — 17. **γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει**: *he fails to form a right opinion*. *Cf.* c. 92. 6; iii. 98. 13. But with **γνώμῃ** in vi. 78. 16. — 18. **τῷ ὑμετέρῳ**: for the order, see on c. 1. 6. The pron. as obj. gen. *Cf.* 21; c. 69. 30; 77. 21; 137. 31. G. 147, N. 1; H. 694; Kühn. 454, note 11. — 19. **πολεμησείοντας**: partic. depending on **αἰσθάνεται**. G. 279, 2; H. 982. This desiderative here only; others in c. 95. 24; iii. 84. 4; iv. 28. 7; viii. 56. 11; 79. 13. In c. 118. 10, Thuc. denies this eagerness for war. But the statement is here justified, as one of **τὰ δέοντα**, c. 22. 5, by the actual outbreak of the war. See also c. 88. Herbst. — **καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους . . . ἐπιχείρησιν**: St. is right in making **προκαταλαμβάνοντας** alone depend on **αἰσθάνεται**, showing by commas that **δυναμένους** and **ὄντας** are subord. to it, and in rejecting **καί**. **δυναμένους**, *of great weight*. *Cf.* c. 18. 10. **προκαταλαμβάνοντας** (c. 36. 18) **κτέ.**, *are assailing us now in preparation for an attack on you*. — 22. **κατ' αὐτοὺς . . . στῶμεν**: *stand together against them*, as it were on the battle-field. *Cf.* c. 48. 12; 62. 24; v. 71. 22; 73. 10. — **μηδὲ . . . ἁμάρτωσιν**: the order is, **μηδὲ δυοῖν ἁμάρτωσι** (*cf.* iii. 53. 6; 69. 9; vii. 50. 2; viii. 71. 14) **φθάσαι**, so that the inf. is epexegetic; *and that they may not be disappointed in their two objects, to gain them before* our alliance is effected. **δυοῖν** is explained in the two inf. clauses, **ἢ κακῶσαι . . . βεβαιώσασθαι**, which after the neg. are not mutually exclusive but are placed co-ord. = **μήτε κακῶσαι μήτε βεβαιώσασθαι**. Since each of these is indispensable to the Corinthians, the Schol. is wrong in

δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι, τῶν 4
μὲν διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν.

34 "Ἣν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποί- 1
κους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λει-
πομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. ὡς δὲ ἠδίκουν σαφές ἐστι. 2
προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. καὶ 3
ὑμῖν ἔστω τι τεκμήριον ἃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτῃ τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεομένοις
τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς με-

saying that δυοῖν is for δυοῖν τοῦ ἑτέρου, as in iv. 28. 25, in a positive sent., not neg., as here. — 24. ἡμέτερον: *i.e.* τῶν τε Κερκυραίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. To avoid confusion after this use of ἡμέτερον, the Corcyraeans are next referred to not by ἡμῶν but by τῶν μέν. — 25. διδόντων: *offering* (*cf.* c. 35. 22), and therefore pres. partic., whereas the decisive δεξαμένων is in the aor. — 26. Note the paronomasia, as often in Thuc. *Cf.* c. 37. 16; ii. 62. 27; iii. 39. 10; 82. 31; iv. 62. 10; vi. 76. 7.

34. *You need feel no scruple on the ground of interference with the traditional relations of colony and mother-city; for the Corinthians have already trespassed on these. And you will do well to be on your guard against their hostile purposes.*

2. μαθέτωσαν: *we would have them know*, with a touch of irony. Such turns are common in the tragic poets. See App. — 5. ἐκπέμπονται: the subject is by synesis *oi ἄποικοι* implied in πᾶσα ἀποικία. *Cf.* c. 13. 6. — 6. προκληθέντες: προκαλεῖσθαί τινα (always mid.) ἐς κρίσιν, as ἐς σπονδὰς καὶ διάλυσιν, iv. 19. 1; ἐς δίκας, vii. 18. 16, 23. — 7. τῷ ἴσῳ: *i.e.* δίκας διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες. *Cf.* ii. 37. 5; iii. 53. 5. — μετελθεῖν: μετιέναι is used with acc. either of the charge to be maintained or of the person to be punished. *Cf.* iv. 62. 13.

8. ἔστω τι... δρῶσιν: "let their behaviour to us be a warning for you." For τι, bringing out the significance of the τεκμήριον, *cf.* ii. 11. 14; iii. 13. 4. — 9. ἀπάτῃ τε... δεομένοις τε: these words placed at the head of their clauses to emphasize the two means of seduction which may be employed; and therefore not the usual μήτε... μήτε. — 10. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος: belongs to δεομένοις, *in an open way*, opp. to ἀπάτῃ, which resorts to crooked ways. *Cf.* ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, c. 35. 17; ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος, iii. 43. 5; ἀπὸ τρόπου ἂν τάχους ἀποφύγοι,

ταμελείας ἐκτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη.

35 "Λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ξυμμάχους. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ, ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν· καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπό τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἴρξουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ὠφελίας, εἶτα ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι αἰτίᾳ ἡμεῖς μὴ

Xen. *An.* ii. 5. 7.—11. **λαμβάνων**: this verb with substs. of moral meaning forms a periphrasis of verbs expressing disposition, feeling, *etc.* (**μεταμέλειαν λαμβάνειν** = **μεταμελεῖσθαι**), as **ποιεῖσθαι** does with expressions of activity. See on c. 6. 3. *Cf.* **εὔνοιαν**, c. 77. 21; **σωφροσύνην**, viii. 64. 21; **φρόνησιν**, Soph. *Phil.* 1078. Then the place of an adv. is supplied by a pred. adj., as **ἐλαχίστας** here. — 12. **διατελοίη**: with adj. without **ὤν**, as vi. 89. 6. See on c. 32. 9.

35. § 1–4. *Your admitting us will be no violation of your obligations to the Lacedaemonians: we claim no more than is permitted by the treaty.*

1. **οὐδέ**: *i.e.* just as little as you will violate colonial obligations. — 2. **μηδετέρων**: not **οὐδετέρων**, because, though expressing a fact, it is under the influence of the cond. partic. **δεχόμενοι**. — **εἴρηται**: *it is expressly stipulated. Cf.* c. 40. 4; 139. 7; 140. 14; iv. 23. 6; v. 21. 6; 25. 10; vii. 18. 14. — 3. **ἥτις . . . ξυμμαχεῖ**: rel. sent. = logical cond. GMT. 61, 1; H. 914. — 4. **παρ' . . . ἐλθεῖν**: *to join whichever side it may feel itself inclined.* The verb is used pers. with dat., c. 129. 14; ii. 68. 7; viii. 84. 16; without obj., v. 4. 11; 37. 19. *Cf.* Hdt. vi. 128. 11; ix. 79. 10. In c. 40. 5, we have **βούλεται** for it. — **καὶ δεινὸν . . . ἃ δεόμεθα**: the period has its two members, the co-existence of which is said to be **δεινόν**, arranged in parataxis, though we should naturally make the former subord. with 'while' (see on c. 121. 19); and each member comprises the ascending steps of indignity (a) **ἀπό τε κτέ., καὶ προσέτι κτέ., καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα κτέ.**; (b) **ἀπὸ τῆς κτέ., καὶ ἀπό κτέ., εἶτα κτέ.** The use of **εἶτα**, *actually*, expresses lively indignation; without a conj. also in Ar. *Pl.* 79; Plat. *Apol.* 23 c; *Theaet.* 151 c; Dem. 1. 12. This arrogance is strongly protested against in the simple words **πολὺ δὲ . . . ἔξομεν**, as in iii. 63. 13. See App. — 10. **ἃ δεόμεθα**: see on c. 32. 4.

10. **ἐν αἰτίᾳ** (or **δι' αἰτίας**) **ἔχειν**: is used by Thuc. for **αἰτιᾶσθαι**; the former in ii. 59. 4; v. 60. 10; 65. 24; vii. 81. 3; the latter in ii. 60. 16. On the position of **πολύ** *before* the prep., see

πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἕξομεν· ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσεσθε, τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε· ἣν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ κἀκείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους, ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὅ τι ἂν πεισθῆτε ὠφελίαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἵ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν (ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις), καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ'

Kühn. 452, note 8. *Cf.* c. 63. 5. — 12. **οὐκ ἐχθρούς**: as the Corinthians are, c. 33. 20. — **οὐχ ὅπως**: = non modo non. When the *οὐχ ὅπως* clause precedes, it always contains the weaker of the two contrasted notions. But since here there is no relation of climax between 'hindering' and 'promoting,' the required meaning forces us to take the notion of 'hindering' negatively. Aken, *T. u. M.* § 119 ff.; Kühn. 525, 3 b. — **κωλυταὶ γενήσεσθε**: *will plant yourselves as opponents*: not a simple periphrasis for *κωλύσετε*. On iii. 2. 11, Cl. refers, among other examples, to iii. 23. 13; v. 9. 38; viii. 86. 23. *Cf.* c. 4. 3; ii. 43. 8. — 14. **προσλαβεῖν**: see on c. 24. 17. — 15. **ἣν**: grammatically in same const. as *δύναμιν*, but referring in adversative relation to the whole preceding sentence, = "this, however, is not right, but it is right —." For this force of the rel., *cf.* c. 10. 20; 39. 2, 10; 69. 20; 95. 20. — **κἀκείνων**: see on c. 30. 14. Instead of *μισθοῦσθαι*, we have strangely *τοὺς μισθοφόρους*. We should say rather, "you should prevent them from raising mercenaries in places under your control." The reading of Codex Monacensis, *τὰς . . . μισθοφορίας*, though suiting the sense, must be regarded as a gloss. The use of *καί* before *ἐκείνων* and *ἡμῖν* implies that impartiality requires perfect equality of treatment: "If you will not help us, stop them also; if you allow them to enlist men among your subjects, send help to us also." — 16. **καθ' ὅ τι ἂν πεισθῆτε**: *in so far as we may succeed in persuading you*. *Cf.* c. 69. 10; iv. 118. 54. — 17. **ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς**: adv., see on c. 34. 10.

§ 5. *By receiving us you will gain allies who are perfectly trustworthy and very powerful on the sea.*

18. **ὑπείπομεν**: *we premised*, we alleged as the basis of our proposal, in c. 32. § 1. *Cf.* Dem. XVIII. 60. In the two other passages in Thuc. where this verb occurs, c. 90. 25; ii. 102. 30, it means 'say besides.' — 19. **καὶ μέγιστον**: see on c. 142. 1; *and, what is most important.* — **οἵ τε αὐτοί**: the correlative of this is not *καὶ οὗτοι*, which means iique, *and these too*, but *καὶ ναυτικῆς κτέ.*, which in consequence of the parenthetical insertions takes the form of a new sentence. The force of *ἀποδείκνυμεν* is felt in what follows only generally as a verb of exhortation. — **ἡμῖν**: *both of us. Cf. ἡμέτερον*, c. 33. 24. — 20. **ἦσαν**: *they are as we saw*, c. 33. § 3. Kr. *Spr.*

ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἠπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐᾶν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν.

36 "Καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους

53, 2, 5, calls this the *didactic* impf. GMT. 11, N. 6; H. 833; Kühn. 383, 5. But Cl. thinks that the tense is used as if the desired alliance were already realized. — **ὅπερ . . . πίστις**: *and this is the surest guarantee of fidelity.* On **ὅπερ** (for which Cobet reads **ἥπερ**, comparing Eur. *Med.* 14; Thuc. iii. 116. 4), see Kühn. 369, 2. — 21. **τοὺς μεταστάντας**: *i.e.* the Corcyraeans themselves, since they have fully abandoned their mother-city. *Cf.* c. 107. 27; ii. 67. 8; v. 29. 12; viii. 53. 19. The fact that those whom they had deserted were able to punish them if they stood alone, would induce them to hold fast to their new allies. — **ναυτικῆς . . . διδομένης**: *i.e.* ναυτικῆς οὔσης τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἣν δίδομεν (see on c. 33. 25). — 22. **οὐχ ὁμοία**: *i.e.* ὑμῖν βλαβερωτέρα ἢ εἰ ἠπειρῶτις ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐδίδοτο. — **ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις**: *the rejection;* only here in classic writers. — 23. **μάλιστα μέν**: *best of all. Cf.* c. 32. 4; 40. 13. On **εἰ δὲ μή**, see on c. 28. 10. — **ἐᾶν** and **ἔχειν**: may be taken as imv. infs., as in v. 9. 26. Or, as Kr. thinks, they may depend on κρατιστόν ἐστι implied in μάλιστα μέν. Cl. seems to govern them by ἀποδείκνυμεν, 19. — 24. **τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν**: *cf.* iv. 86. 5. **ἔχειν** expresses a fixed relation better than **χρῆσθαι** would do.

36. § 1–3. *Do not, therefore, allow any timidity to delay you; but, in view of the great advantages of our position, attach us to yourselves, and so gain the preponderance over the Peloponnesians, instead of letting us fall into the hands of the Corinthians, only to increase the strength of your enemies.*

1. **τάδε ξυμφέροντα λέγεσθαι**: for ξυμφέροντα τάδε εἶναι ἃ λέγεται. — 2. **φοβεῖται**: the subj. to be supplied from the preceding **ὅτῳ**. See on c. 10. 21. — **μὴ . . . τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ**: *i.e.* if the argument of the preceding chap. has not succeeded in removing your misgiving, that the reception of a state which is engaged in open hostility with another may be regarded as an act of hostility against the latter. This anxiety is not confuted; but they are advised to have a full apprehension of the danger (**τὸ δεδιός**), and to realize all the consequences of taking the step; for this only will inspire respect in their opponents. Inactivity may indeed secure a certain sort of confidence (**τὸ θαρσοῦν**), but can only betray weakness in the eyes of their enemies. — 3. **τὸ δεδιός** and **τὸ θαρσοῦν**: this use of neut. partics. and adjs. for abstract nouns (GMT. 108, 2, N. 4; H. 966 b; Kühn. 403 γ) is a favourite one with Thuc. It presents to the mind the abstract quality in operation, standing between *e.g.* τὸ δεδιέναι and ὅτι δέδιε. **τὸ δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ**: *i.e.* the fear which sees in himself no adequate strength. Opp. to this is τὸ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου, *i.e.* the

μᾶλλον φοβῆσον, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὂν
πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἅμα
οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ πλέον ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς προνοῶν, ὅταν
ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα
περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάζῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων
καιρῶν οἰκειοῦταί τε καὶ πολεμοῦται. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας 2
καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκεῖθεν
ναυτικὸν ἐᾶσαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπελθεῖν τό τε ἐνθένδε
πρὸς τἀκεῖ παραπέμψαι, καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ξυμφορώτατόν ἐστι.
βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' 3

confidence that he has nothing to fear, which has led him to reject allies. The gen. δεξαμένου, like αὐτοῦ, properly depends on the partic., but has the effect of an abs. gen. — ἰσχὺν ἔχον: *if it is backed by strength, i.e.* if it leads him to secure the means of effective action. — 4. φοβῆσον: this and ἐσόμενον, βουλευόμενος, προνοῶν are supplementary partics. to γνώτω. GMT. 113; H. 982. — 5. ἀδεέστερον: here in the rare pass. sense, *less formidable. Cf.* Plat. *Symp.* 198 a, ἀδεὲς δέος δεδιέναι. In ii. 59. 13; iii. 37. 4, 'without fear.' — 6. οὐ τὸ πλέον ἤ: see on c. 9. 21. — ἢ καί: *cf.* c. 140. 10; ii. 38. 7. Kühn. 524, 2; Kr. *Spr.* 69, 32, 13. — τῶν Ἀθηνῶν: without repeated prep. See on c. 6. 21. — 7. καὶ οὐ... προνοῶν: *and that he is not taking the best thought for her.* — 8. ἐς τὸν... πόλεμον: *in view of the coming and all but present war.* — τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν: *from regard for the moment. Cf.* v. 16. 12; vii. 42. 8; viii. 27. 25. — 9. ἐνδοιάζῃ: *he hesitates. Cf.* c. 122. 15; vi. 91. 20. Not elsewhere in Attic. — ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων... πολεμοῦται: *which is with the most momentous consequences made either friend or foe.* πολεμοῦται, "placed in a hostile attitude," as in c. 57. 5, 6. The καιροί are regarded as themselves friends or enemies.

10. τῆς τε... Σικελίας: depending on παράπλου (as c. 44. 16), which is governed by καλῶς κεῖται. See on c. 22. 13. *Cf.* c. 75. 3; iii. 92. 14, 17. — 11. παράπλου: not διάπλου, because the ancient mariners hugged the coast. The art. omitted as in c. 1. 11. — 12. ἐπελθεῖν: *to come to join. Cf.* iii. 69. 8; Hdt. vi. 95. 5, ἐνταῦθα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατός. Usually in hostile sense. See on c. 70. 16. — τό τε ἐνθένδε: the art. merely to give a subst. character to ἐνθένδε, *a fleet from this side.* Herbst notes that this passage could be regarded as one of τὰ δέοντα (c. 22. 5) only by a writer who was acquainted with the latter part of the war. — 14. βραχυτάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ κτέ.: for κεφάλαιον τόδε βραχύτατόν ἐστιν ᾧ ἂν μάθοιτε. For ἄν repeated in emphatic positions, *cf.* 77. 21; 136. 18. GMT. 42, 3; H. 862. — τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον: to be taken adv., *on the whole as well as in detail,* without any grammatical relation to κεφαλαίῳ, to which Kr. and B. make it appos., like c. 145. 4, καθ' ἕκαστά τε

ἕκαστον, τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε· τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἕλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων· τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἕξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι."

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι 4
μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε·

37 "Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ 1
δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, οὕτω καὶ

καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν. In viii. 91. 3, τοῖς ξύμπασι is perhaps to be taken so, and not personally. O. Ribbeck (Rhein. Mus. 23, 211) proposes to place these words before ξυμφορώτατον, as v. H. places them after ἐστι, saying "intelligo: cum universis tum singulis (hominibus)."—15. μάθοιτε: with inf. implies reaching not merely a correct view, but a decision. — τρία μὲν ... ναυτικά: *sc.* ἐστί, ὄντα being joined with λόγου ἄξια, as ὤν is often placed before important attributes. *Cf.* c. 21. 5; 118. 10; 124. 4; ii. 97. 20; iv. 13. 19. But Sh. perhaps better makes ὄντα depend on μάθοιτε taken now in the sense of 'learn that,' not of 'learn to.' *Cf.* vi. 40. 2. The two clauses τρία μὲν ... Κορινθίων, and τούτων δὲ ... ἀγωνίζεσθαι are formally co-ord. by μέν, δέ, but in effect the former is subord. to the latter. — 17. τῶν Κορινθίων: the omission of τό is surprising, yet established by the best Mss., so that the omission of the art. is similar to that of the prep. in 6. It is inserted, however, by St., B., and most editors. — τούτων δ' εἰ κτέ.: notice the "minatory and monitory" form of the condition, εἰ with fut. indic. B. L. G. Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc. 1876, p. 9. — 21. ταῖς ἡμετέραις: the dat. of measure of difference with πλείοσι, *with a naval force augmented by our fleet.*

SPEECH OF THE CORINTHIAN AMBASSADORS. Chaps. 37–43.

37. *The Corcyraeans have misrepresented their position as well as ours. They have hitherto maintained their isolation that they might have no check on their wrong-doing.*

2. ἀλλ' ὡς καί: instead of the usual ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς. The trajection is due to a desire to emphasize strongly the perversion of truth attributed to the Corcyraeans. καί, *actually*, covers the two following clauses, which are again united in περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, neut. (not ἑκατέρων). See App. — 3. πολεμοῦνται: pass. of πολεμεῖν τινι, as c. 68. 18; iv. 68. 12. See on c. 2. 18. — 4. οὕτω: in reference to μνησθέντας: "we must

ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἰέναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξίωσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρείαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσησθε. φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον 2
οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς
τἀδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, αὐτάρκη θέσιν κει- 3
μένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσί τινα μᾶλ-

first make our statement on both these points; *when that is done.*" Kühn. 486, note 5. *Cf.* c. 22. 7; iii. 96. 8; iv. 88. 8; vi. 24. 3. — 5. **τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀξίωσιν**: implies that the Corinthians are making a well-grounded claim, as opposed to the pressing entreaty (*χρεία*) of the Corcyraeans. The emphatic **ἀφ' ἡμῶν** is for the same reason preferred to the simple gen. *Cf.* c. 39. 14; ii. 39. 6; iv. 108. 36; vi. 40. 15; vii. 77. 17. — 6. **ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε**: *i.e.* that you may the better protect yourselves against their deceptive persuasion by knowing the facts in time, before you take the decisive step. — **μὴ ἀλογίστως**: *not without reasonable grounds*; litotes for 'with mature consideration.' *μή* here is to be closely connected with the adv., as *οὐκ* with *εἰκότως* in 3. See on c. 32. 24.

7. **φασὶ δέ**: *now they assert; δέ* marks the transition from the general statement to the details, and should not be altered with Kr. to *δή*. See on c. 32. 7. *Cf.* iii. 61. 9. — **τὸ σῶφρον**: see on c. 2. 19. — 8. **τὸ δέ**: *δέ* expresses a vigorous opposition, *but on the contrary*, like cum tamen and *τό* retains its old dem. sense. *Cf.* Dem. XVIII. 140, *τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι*; Stallbaum on Plat. *Apol.* 23 a. Kühn. 459 c. — **ἀρετῇ**: *from magnanimity.* The repetition of the prep. is not necessary. *Cf.* iv. 19. 12. — 9. **ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα**: for *οὔτε ξύμμαχόν τινα*, to lay more stress on the noun. *Cf.* c. 34. 9. Since the connexion of *οὔτε — οὔτε* depends on the repeated *τε*, so here *τε — οὔτε*, though not occurring elsewhere in Thuc., is not less justifiable than *οὔτε — τε*. So Herbst, Philol. 10, p. 333. — 10. **παρακαλοῦντες**: gives the occasion of *αἰσχύνεσθαι*, "they are not inclined to expose themselves to shame by inviting others to join them in their base undertakings." See App.

11. **θέσιν**: since *κεῖσθαι* is the pf. pass. of *τιθέναι*, *θέσις* is its verbal noun, and so this expression is like *ἕδραν καθῆσθαι*, Eur. *Heracl.* 55; *προσθακεῖν*, Soph. *O. C.* 1166. G. 159; H. 715; Kühn. 410, 1 b. — 12. **παρέχει**: copiam facit, here with acc. and inf.; with inf. alone, iii. 63. 10; with dat. and inf., viii. 50. 26. — **αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς . . . γίγνεσθαι**: Cl. explains this, with a zeugma of *γίγνεσθαι*, "to constitute themselves judges of the wrongs they do rather than enter into any covenant which would hamper them." He thinks that this sense of *κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι* is justified by *γίγνεσθαι* with *κατὰ ξυστάσεις*, ii. 21. 15; *κατὰ ξυλλόγους*, iii. 27. 7; *δι' ἀνοκωχῆς*, c. 40. 16; *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα*, c. 139. 20; *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου*, ii. 3. 18; *ἐν δικασταῖς*,

λον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκῃ καταί-
15 ροντας δέχεσθαι. κἀν τούτῳ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον οὐχ 4
ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἑτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζωνται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι, πλέον ἔχωσιν, ἢν δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν, ἀναισχυντῶσι. καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ὥσ- 5
20 περ φασίν, ἀγαθοί, ὅσῳ ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τόσῳ

iii. 53. 4; δι' ἔχθρας, Ar. *Ran.* 1412. Another explanation seems simpler: "They can in consequence of their independent position make themselves judges of the wrongs they do to a greater extent than would be possible if commercial treaties bound them," where γίγνεσθαι is taken impers., = rem agi. Sh. and Jowett understand δικασταί as subj. of γίγνεσθαι, "than that judges should be appointed by covenant." — 14. ἐκπλέοντας: *sc.* τοὺς Κερκυραίους, while the other partic. agrees with τοὺς ἄλλους, *i.e.* the citizens of other cities who ἀνάγκῃ καταίρουσι by reason of the position of the island (c. 36. 10).

15. κἀν τούτῳ: *and in this state of things*, described in § 2, 3. *Cf.* c. 81. 9. — τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον: *cf.* c. 32, § 3, 4. An adj. used as subst. qualified by an epithet, as τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες, v. 68. 6; τὸ ξύνηθες ἡσυχον, vi. 34. 17; τὸ πρότερον ξύνηθες φοβερόν, vi. 55. 15. — 16. προβέβληνται: *they have put forward as a cloak. Cf.* ii. 87. 14; iii. 63. 9. Their designs expressed by final sentences; ξυναδικήσωσιν, the aor., of single cases, ἀδικῶσι, pres., of long opportunity. There is a paronomasia (c. 33. 26) here, since κατὰ μόνας (*cf.* c. 32. 18) answers to the ξυν-. St. after Cobet omits the second ὅπως, since the following clauses are merely an epexegesis of ἀδικῶσι. — 18. πλέον ἔχωσι: this phrase is regularly employed to designate unrighteous gain. *Cf.* c. 76. 15; iii. 43. 12; iv. 62. 16; viii. 99. 12; and so the noun πλεονέκτης, c. 40. 2. — ἢν δέ πού . . . ἀναισχυντῶσι: this does not, as Cl. says, imply that there is a third method, opposed to the force or fraud of the two preceding clauses; but that, if by either of these means they have made some (που) gain, they may be able to brazen it out in the absence of witnesses. *Cf.* iv. 86. 5, where βίᾳ and ἀπάτῃ are named as the two means by which men προσλαμβάνουσι what they want. See App.

19. εἰ ἦσαν: *if they really were. Cf.* c. 25. 23. — 20. ὅσῳ . . . ἦσαν: though this clause expresses the actual state of things, "in proportion as they *are* less assailable by others" (*cf.* c. 143. 21), the impf. is used by assimilation to the unreal cond. GMT. 64, 2; H. 919 b; Kühn. 399, 6. — τόσῳ δέ: so we should probably read with Hertlein for τοσῷδε, which occurs only in reference to real relations of magnitude (*cf.* c. 23. 6; 122. 16; ii. 72. 7, *etc.*). The simple τόσῳ for τοσούτῳ is found in iv. 28. 13; viii. 24. 22. The use of δέ in apodosi after a dem. pron. or emphatic art. (ii. 46. 6; 65. 19; iii.

δὲ φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι.

38 "Ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοίδε εἰσίν, ἄποικοι δὲ ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθεῖεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοί φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ

98. 2) is as early as Homer. *Cf.* Hom. A 58; I 167; γ 10. G. 227, 2; H. 1046, 1 c; Kühn. 533, 1. *Cf.* also **ὡς δέ**, Plat. *Prot.* 326 d, and **οὕτω δέ**, 328 a. — 21. **ἐξῆν**: like other imperss. of power, manner, *etc.*, regularly in the impf. without **ἄν**. GMT. 49, 2, N. 3; H. 897. — 22. **τὰ δίκαια**: more usually **δίκας**. *Cf.* c. 140. 14; v. 59. 24. See on c. 28. 6. The Corinthians did not regard the offers of the Corcyraeans, c. 28. § 2 ff., as **δίκαια**, as is stated in c. 39; and probably the art. is used with **δίκαια** to denote the behaviour which is actually required by justice.

38. *They have behaved to us, their mother-city, in the most reckless way in many former instances, and recently in the case of Epidamnus.*

1. οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους: with no special reference, but to put stress on **ἡμᾶς**. **πρός** = *in their attitude towards.* As **ἐς** is the favourite prep. with **ἁμαρτάνειν**, 13, Thuc. may have shifted to it here to indicate the hostile relation of the Corcyraeans to the Corinthians. *Cf.* c. 55. 13; 130. 12; ii. 60. 1; 68. 25; iii. 37. 4, 5; vi. 18. 30; 86. 15. — **τοιοίδε**: = **ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί**, as just defined. — 2. **ἀφεστᾶσι**: = **ἠλλοτρίωνται** (c. 34. 3), the pf. denoting the fact as now manifested: they have separated themselves from us, and are in the unfriendly relation depicted in c. 25. § 4. — **διὰ παντός**: as usual of time, *constantly*. *Cf.* c. 76. 3; 84. 4; 85. 2; ii. 16. 9; 49. 26; iii. 58. 14; 93. 8; iv. 61. 20; 119. 12; v. 69. 8; 105. 5; vii. 6. 6; 61. 8. The open hostility is introduced by **καὶ νῦν**. — 3. **ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν**: *cf.* c. 34. § 1. — 4. **ἐκπεμφθεῖεν**: as Heraclides ap. Eustath. Hom. φ 195, says: **ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀττὶς τὰ εὐκτικὰ συγκόπτει κατ' ἐξαίρεσιν μιᾶς συλλαβῆς** (*cf.* Stahl, *Qu. gr.* p. 18); the shorter form of the opt. is everywhere adopted, even against the Mss. The opt. = **ἐξεπέμφθημεν** of the dir. disc.

6. τὰ εἰκότα: *in all proper matters.* *Cf.* c. 25. § 4. The acc. neut. pl. of the inner obj. approximates to an adv. *Cf.* **τὰ κράτιστα**, c. 19. 8; 31. 4; **τὰ τελευταῖα**, c. 24. 12; **τὰ πρότερα**, c. 2. 2; **τὰ ἄλλα**, c. 65. 10; **ἐναντία**, iii. 55. 9; **ἀντίπαλα**, vii. 34. 23; **ἀγχώμαλα**, vii. 71. 21. So below, 13, **πολλὰ ἄλλα**. — **θαυμάζεσθαι**: *to be held in honour.* *Cf.* iii. 39. 30. — 8. **ἀρέσκοντες**: *cf.* iii. 34. 14; v. 41. 23; Soph. *O. T.* 274; Eur. *I. T.* 581. The partic. expresses an adj. notion always in readiness to

ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπεστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ
10 καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρ- 5
τάνομεν, τοῖσδε μὲν εἶξαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰ-
σχρὸν βιάσασθαι τὴν τούτων μετριότητα· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ 6
ἐξουσίᾳ πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι καὶ
Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὖσαν κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποι-
15 οῦντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἑλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι.
39 "Καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκῃ πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, 1
ἦν γε οὐ τὸν προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλού-
μενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τά τε ἔργα

exert itself. See Am. J. of Ph., IV. p. 297. — **οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν ἀπαρέσκοιμεν**: = *οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι, εἰ ἀπαρέσκοιμεν.* — 9. **ἐπεστρατεύομεν**: so we should read with Ullrich (*Beitr. z. Krit.* I. 1), for *ἐπιστρατεύομεν*, repeating the *ἄν* from *τοῖσδ' ἄν*. See App. — **ἐκπρεπῶς**: *in a way so unusual*, considering the ordinary relation of a mother-city to its colonies. *Cf. ἐκπρεπέστερον*, iii. 55. 6. — **μὴ . . . ἀδικούμενοι**: = *εἰ μὴ . . . ἠδικούμεθα.*

10. **καλὸν ἦν**: see on c. 37. 21. — 11. **τοῖσδε μὲν . . . ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχρόν**: the second member of the sentence would naturally have been *ἡμῖν δὲ (καλὸν) τῆς ὀργῆς ὑφίεσθαι.* But the suggestion of a willing submission on the part of the Corcyraeans occasions the vivid change, *thus it would be a shame for us.* — 12. **βιάσασθαι**: *to use violence to*, with acc. as in viii. 53. 9. — **ἐξουσίᾳ πλούτου**: *from the license which wealth occasions.* The two words are used together in dat. in c. 123. 5. The position of **τε** shows that **πολλά** is not to be taken directly with **ἄλλα**, but rather covers the action of both the following clauses. — 14. **κακουμένην** (= **ἐν ᾧ ἐκακοῦτο**) **κτέ.**: a similar parataxis to that in c. 28. 15. *Cf.* 35. § 3. — **προσεποιοῦντο**: *cf.* c. 8. 16; 57. 10; ii. 30. 6; 33. 9; iv. 77. 13. — 15. **ἑλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι**: *they have taken by force and now hold. Cf.* c. 29. 23. From this use of **ἔχειν** it comes to be employed with the partic. aor. or pf. as a periphrasis for those tenses, but expressing strongly the maintenance of the result attained; in Thuc. only in vi. 39. 10; 76. 11; frequent in the tragic poets, particularly Soph.; as *Aj.* 22; *O. T.* 577, 699; *Antig.* 1058, 1068. GMT. 112, 2, N. 7; H. 981 a.

39. *For it was not till after they had begun their wrong-doing that they professed to be ready to submit to arbitration; and they allege this to entangle you in their guilt.*

2. **ἦν γε κτέ.**: the rel. has the effect of a strong adversative conj., as in c. 35. 15. So below, 10, *οὓς χρῆν.* **ἦν** depends on **τὸν — προκαλούμενον** (*cf.* iv. 20. 4; v. 37. 24), which is defined by **προύχοντα** as well as **ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς**: *but surely not he who from a commanding and safe position challenges such a decision ought to be considered as saying anything worth listening to.* For a similar combination of a partic. and adv. expression, *cf.* ii. 89. 22; iii. 34. 17; 42. 23. — 3. **λέγειν τι**: opp. to **οὐδὲν**

ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα.
οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο· καὶ δεῦρο ἥκουσιν, οὐ τἀκεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· οὓς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἠδικήμεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὠφελίας νῦν μεταδώσετε, καὶ

λέγειν. *Cf.* Plat. *Crit.* 46 d; *Men.* 92 d; Eur. *H. F.* 279; Ar. *Eq.* 334. — **ἐς ἴσον . . . καθιστάντα**: *places on the same level* with his opponent. *Cf.* c. 121. 15. The stress lies on **ἔργα**, which therefore attracts **ὁμοίως**. *Cf.* c. 58. 7; 70. 25; iii. 47. 13. Their offer to submit to arbitration should be accompanied by the evacuation of Epidamnus. — 4. **πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι**: *before proceeding to appeal to arms.* Cl. gives a rendering which covers alike Poppo's *armis discernere* and Reiske's *iudicio disceptare*. But this is not necessary. Note the force of **πρίν** with pres. inf. In the next line it occurs again apparently in a *neg.* sentence. But here, as in c. 68. 9, the following clause with **ἀλλ' ἐπειδή** shows that **οὐ πρίν** is used only as a note of time to bring out rhetorically the contrast of *before* and *after*. Sturm, ΠΡΙΝ, p. 89. GMT. 106, 2, N. 2; H. 924; Kr. *Dial.* 54, 17, 11. *Cf.* also the use of **οὐ** in 8 after **ἀξιοῦντες** with the regular **μή** in c. 43. 4.

6. **τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης**: more striking than **τὴν εὐπρεπῆ δίκην**. *Cf.* c. 68. 1; 69. 14. — 7. **παρέσχοντο**: *they proffered. Cf.* iii. 36. 3; 54. 1; 90. 18; 112. 15; iv. 108. 15. — **οὐ τἀκεῖ . . . ἁμαρτόντες**: *not satisfied with the wrongs they have committed yonder by themselves.* — 8. **ξυμμαχεῖν κτέ.**: note the adv. force of **ξύν** (*cf.* c. 37. 16), *to be, not their allies, but their accomplices in crime.* Jowett. It is this parenthetical antithesis which justifies **οὐ** with inf. after a verb of will. Kr. *Spr.* 67, 7, 3. — 9. **διαφόρους**: qualifies **σφᾶς**, though placed first for emphasis: *to receive them now that they are at variance with us*, and therefore in danger. The opposite to this follows, 10, **ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν**.

11. **προσιέναι**: *i.e.* for the purpose of seeking alliance. *Cf.* c. 40. 23; 71. 22; 75. 6; iv. 76. 27. — **μή**: a pres. inf. depending on **χρή** regularly takes **μή**. **μὴ ποιεῖ** is expressed by **χρὴ μὴ ποιεῖν**, but usually **μὴ ποιήσῃς** by **οὐ χρὴ ποιῆσαι**. See Gildersleeve on Pind. *Ol.* ix. 40. *Cf.* Eur. *Heracl.* 969, **χρῆν τόνδε μὴ ζῆν μηδὲ φῶς ὁρᾶν ἔτι**. Isocr. iv. 176, **ἃ χρὴν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ μηδὲ μίαν ἐᾶν ἡμέραν**. — **ἐν ᾧ**: not merely temporal, like **ὅτε**, but including the notion of condition, circumstances. *Cf.* c. 42. 4; 122. 6; ii. 35. 9; vi. 55. 18; viii. 86. 22; and **ἐν τούτῳ**, c. 37. 15. — 13. **μεταδώσετε**: and in 15 **ἕξετε**, express categorically the cer-

τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἔξετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινωνήσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν.

40 "Ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἵδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσί, δεδήλωται· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε, μαθεῖν χρή. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁπότερους τις τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἑτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἡ ξυνθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δεῖται, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰ-

tainty of the disastrous results. — 14. **ἀπογενόμενοι**: *though having had nothing to do with.* **ἀπό** = 'far from.' *Cf.* Hdt. ix. 69. 4, *ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης.* Plut. *Them.* 2. 1, *ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος.* Elsewhere in Thuc. 'be destroyed, lost.' *Cf.* ii. 34. 4; 98. 1θ; v. 74. 12. — **τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας**: *cf.* c. 37. 5, *αἰτία* being = *αἰτίασις.* *Cf.* c. 83. 8; ii. 18. 9. Schol. *αἰτιασόμεθα γὰρ τοὺς συμμαχήσαντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις ὡς ἐχθρούς.* — 15. **πάλαι δὲ κοινωνήσαντας**: this reading of the best Mss. requires for its subj. not *τοὺς Κερκυραίους* implied in *οὕς* (10), but, following the intermediate clauses, *ἐκείνους τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.* See on c. 18. 21. And since *κοινωνεῖν* is really = *κοινὸν ἔχειν*, it here has the acc. obj. *δύναμιν* in contrast with *τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα* (*cf.* c. 83. 7; ii. 11. 37; viii. 89. 26); *and only if both parties had before shared their power, ought they now to have the results of their policy in common.* See App.

40. *By receiving them you will break your obligations under the treaty, since you will be plainly acting to the prejudice of us, to whom you are bound by it.*

4. **εἴρηται**: see on c. 35. 2. — 5. **ἀγράφων**: *i.e.* *μὴ ἐγγεγραμμένων.* *Cf.* c. 31. 7. — **οὐ τοῖς . . . ἐστίν**: *is not for, does not refer to, those who join one side to the prejudice of the other.* With *ἰοῦσιν* supply *παρὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους.* — 6. **ἡ ξυνθήκη**: *i.e.* the whole treaty as well as each article of it. — 7. **μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν**: *not withdrawing himself from another* who has a claim on him. *Cf.* Ar. *Nub.* 1305, *ὁ γέρων ἀποστερῆσαι βούλεται τὰ χρήματ' ἀδανείστατο*; Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 6. 3, *τὸ ἀποστερῆσαι παρακαταθήκην.* Usually the const. is reversed, as in c. 69. 4. Kühn. 411, note 10 d. — 8. **εἰ σωφρονοῦσι**: this condition applies to the whole clause, and not to *τοῖς δεξαμένοις* only; and the force of it will be felt if, instead of "who will not cause war instead of peace to his new friends" (*τοῖς δεξαμένοις*), we substitute its positive equivalent: "who will permit peace to be maintained by his new friends" *if they exercise ordinary discretion* (*cf.* c. 120. 1θ); *i.e.* no new allies should be received who will render ordinary discretion unavailing to prevent war, as the Corcyraeans are sure to do. See App. —

ῥήνης ποιήσει· ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε
ἄν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ 3
καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμιοι. ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε
μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν τούτους. καί- 4
τοι δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδὼν στῆναι ἀμφοτέ-
ροις, εἰ δὲ μή, τοὐναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἰέναι
(Κορινθίοις μέν γε ἔνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ
δι' ἀνοκωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον μὴ καθι-
στάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. οὐδὲ 5
γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐν-
αντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμέ-
νων εἰ χρὴ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερῶς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς
προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς 6
κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε, φανεῖται καὶ ἃ

9. ὅ: *i.e.* πόλεμον ἔχειν ἀντ' εἰρήνης.— 12. καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι . . . τούτους: *to revenge ourselves on them not without you, i.e.* you will necessarily be involved in the vengeance we must take on them. The suppression of ἡμῖν or ἡμᾶς after ἀνάγκη, and the use of μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν for the downright μεθ' ὑμῶν, are due, perhaps, to a desire to show how unwelcome the contingency would be.

13. δίκαιοί γ' ἐστέ: = δίκαιόν γ' ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς, according to the tendency of the Greek language to construct such adj. in agreement with the principal subject. H. 944; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 10. See on c. 20. 1. — ἐκποδὼν στῆναι ἀμφοτέροις: *cf.* c. 53. 5, ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε. *Cf.* c. 35. 16 of the corresponding speech. — 15. μέν γε: γε belongs to Κορινθίοις. This combination occurs in c. 70. 6; iii. 39. 11; vi. 86. 8; Dem. XIV. 29, 40, *etc.* — 16. δι' ἀνοκωχῆς ἐγένεσθε: see on c. 37. 13. *Cf.* also δι' ὄχλου, διὰ μάχης, διὰ δίκης ἰέναι and εἶναι, c. 73. 13; ii. 11. 13; vi. 60. 18. — 17. ὥστε: superfluous, as viii. 45. 5, ἐπιστολῆς . . . ὥστ' ἀποκτεῖναι. GMT. 98, 2, N. 2; Kühn. 473, note 9. — 18. Σαμίων ἀποστάντων: B.C. 440. In c. 115. The service which the Corinthians here claim to have rendered is mentioned only here and in c. 41. 8. — ψῆφον: dat. in c. 20. 18. — 19. δίχα ἐψηφισμένων: (Schol. διισταζόντων) *i.e.* when there was a division of opinion as to lending them aid, we joined the party in your favour. δίχα, as in c. 64. 6; iv. 61. 11; vi. 100. 4: not, with Bétant, in contrariam partem. — 21. αὐτόν τινα: *each for himself; τις* as in c. 37. 12; 43. 2. *Cf.* vi. 31. 27. — κολάζειν: dependent on ἀντείπομεν = ἀντεκελεύσαμεν. — 22. τιμωρήσετε: *sc.* αὐτοῖς, to be supplied from the preceding acc. — φανεῖται ἅ: connected closely, like ἔστιν ἅ, and so followed by an adj.; *it will turn out that no fewer of your allies will join us.*

τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν πρόσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν θήσετε.

41 "Δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν, ἱκανὰ 1 κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἣν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες, ὥστε βλάπτειν, οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι, ὥστ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαμὲν χρῆναι· νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές 2 ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεν ὑμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο, οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες τῶν πάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν· φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἢν καὶ πρότερον 3

— 23. **πρόσεισι**: *cf.* c. 39. 11. — 24. **ἐφ' ὑμῖν**: in a hostile sense. *Cf.* c. 102. 19; 124. 16.

41. *On the contrary, we have a claim on your gratitude for services rendered you in former times.*

1. **δικαιώματα**: *claims on ground of right. Cf.* v. 97. 1. — **τάδε**: refers to the foregoing, which is rare. *Cf.* c. 43. 9. So *τοσοῖδε*, vi. 2. 40; *τοιάδε*, vii. 78. 1, the only instance after a speech. — 2. **παραίνεσιν κτέ.**: in same const. as *δικαιώματα*, though it would have been more natural to use verbs: *παραινοῦμεν καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς χάριν ἡμῖν ἀντιδοῦναι*. — 3. **ἣν κτέ.**: the antec. is *χάριτος*. The meaning is: this repayment you ought not to refuse on the ground either that we are your enemies, who are seeking to injure you, or friends so intimate as not to care for recompense. The rare verb **ἐπιχρῆσθαι** (see on c. 2. 5) occurs in Plat. *Legg.* 953 a, where it is recommended that intercourse with strangers be restricted, *δίκας αὐτοῖς ὀρθῶς διανέμοντας, ἀναγκαῖα μὲν ὡς ὀλίγιστα δ' ἐπιχρωμένους*; and in Hdt. iii. 99. 9, *αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες*, of a woman's intimate friends.

6. **τὸν . . . πόλεμον**: see on c. 14. 12. *Cf.* Hdt. vi. 89. 6, *διδοῦσι δὲ πεντεδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτίνην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξὴν δοῦναι*. Here **ὑπέρ** = *πρό*, a rare use. *Cf.* Plat. *Tim.* 23 c, *ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην φθοράν*. — 8. **τὸ . . . βοηθῆσαι**: appos. as in c. 32. 16. — 9. **παρέσχεν**: *rendered possible. Cf.* c. 37. 12. — 11. **οἷς**: *i.e. ἐν οἷς. Cf.* c. 6. 21; 21. 5. — 12. **τῶν πάντων . . . νικᾶν**: *indifferent to everything in comparison with victory. Cf.* c. 23. 14. The same thought is expressed more strongly in 15, *καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα . . . τῆς αὐτίκα*, "they mismanage (see on c. 25. 2) even their real interests if they can only gain

ἐχθρὸς ᾖ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἢν καὶ τύχῃ φίλος
15 ὤν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονικίας ἕνεκα
τῆς αὐτίκα.

42 "Ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυ- 1
τέρου αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι,
καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ
πολεμήσει, ἄλλα εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρον ἐν ᾧ ἄν τις 2
5 ἐλάχιστα ἁμαρτάνῃ μάλιστα ἕπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ
πολέμου, ᾧ φοβοῦντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖοι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν,
ἐν ἀφανεῖ ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ
φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν πρὸς Κορινθίους
κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας

their present end." — 14. ᾖ: in connexion with πρότερον = fuerit, not sit. (*Cf.* Ar. *Vesp.* 1074, ῥᾳδίως ἐγὼ διδάξω, κἂν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρίν. B. L. G.). — 16. τῆς αὐτίκα: on the order, *cf.* 11, τοὺς σφετέρους, and see on c. 1. 6.

42. *And you will thus at the same time best consult your own interests.*

1. ὧν: on the rel. in this position, see on c. 9. 19. — ἐνθυμηθέντες: with gen. of neut. rel. here and vi. 60. 1, like φροντίζειν. Elsewhere either without case, c. 120. 27; 122. 8; ii. 43. 9; 60. 20; iii. 40. 26, *etc.*; or with acc. of noun, ii. 40. 9; v. 32. 5; vii. 18. 17; 63. 11. In v. 32. 6 the gen. is abs. The appeal in this pl. partic. to all present passes to a part through νεώτερός τις (see on c. 40. 21), which controls the sing. ἀξιούτω, νομίσῃ. See on c. 18. 21. — 2. αὐτά: might have been omitted after ὧν, and is bracketed by Cobet. See on c. 10. 21; 36. 2. But often the second of two really rel. clauses assumes an independent form, and takes for the rel. the corresponding case of αὐτός. *Cf.* ii. 4. 25; 34. 13; 72. 7; 74. 13. Kr. *Spr.* 60, 6, 2. — ἀξιούτω: implies the recognition of something as a duty. *Cf.* c. 22. 9; 74. 12. — ἀμύνεσθαι: has the general meaning of 'requital,' not simply of 'repelling evil,' also in ii. 67. 28; iv. 63. 11. — 3. δίκαια: not adv., but for δίκαια μὲν τάδε εἶναι ἃ λέγεται. — 4. ἐν ᾧ: as in c. 39. 11; and so ἕπεται is abs., *arises, is present.* *Cf.* Hom. Θ 140.

5. τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου: *cf.* c. 39. 6. "That war will come is still uncertain"; a reply to c. 33. § 3. To this is opposed φανερὰ ἔχθρα καὶ οὐ μέλλουσα. — 9. τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης . . . ὑποψίας: P., B., Kr. explain this by c. 103. § 4; the Megarians join the Athenian alliance, in consequence of border disputes with the Corinthians, *cir.* B.C. 462. So Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 568. The ὑποψία is then felt by the Corinthians. But Cl. refers to c. 114. § 1; the Megarians by Peloponnesian aid expel the Athenian garrison, B.C. 446. This would create ὑποψία in the minds of the Athenians. Of the two, the former reference is no doubt to be preferred. Then ὑφελεῖν will mean

ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον· ἡ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις 3
καιρὸν ἔχουσα, κἂν ἐλάσσων ᾖ, δύναται μεῖζον ἔγκλημα
λῦσαι. μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόασι, 4
τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυ-
ρωτέρα δύναμις ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ
κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν.

43 "Ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι 1
αὐτοὶ προείπομεν τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα
κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιοῦμεν κομίζεσθαι,
καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἡμᾶς

reduce, render less intense, with part. gen., as Xen. *An.* vii. 4. 5, ἀφίησι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. *Cf.* c. 30. 8, τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον. But a reference to τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, c. 67. 14; 139. 6, would be still more likely, if it were certain that it had been enacted at this time. — 10. **σῶφρον μᾶλλον**: *would rather show wisdom and discretion*. *Cf.* c. 120. 16; vi. 6. 22.

ἡ γὰρ τελευταία . . . λῦσαι: this χάρις is the service the *Athenians* will render in not interfering; this will be highly opportune (καιρὸν ἔχουσα) though involving a trifling sacrifice (ἐλάσσων). But Cl. refers χάρις to the services of the *Corinthians* in the Samian affair, c. 40. § 5. — 12. **ὅτι ναυτικοῦ . . . διδόασι**: *cf.* c. 35. 21; 36. 20. μεγάλην has an ironical tone. — 15. **τὸ πλέον ἔχειν**: it is better to connect τό with ἔχειν, answering to τὸ ἀδικεῖν of 13, than, with Cl., to join τὸ πλέον, though, as Thuc. uniformly omits the art. in this phrase (*cf.* c. 37. 18; 76. 15; iii. 43. 12; viii. 99. 12), he proposes to read τι πλέον, as in iv. 59. 7; vii. 36. 6; viii. 99. 12. This v. H. adopts.

43. *Do not then take up their cause, since it has no basis of justice.*

1. **περιπεπτωκότες**: chiefly used of unfortunate circumstances. *Cf.* ii. 54. 1; 59. 6; v. 14. 15; iii. 16; viii. 27. 14; 33. 13. — **οἷς**: Cl. follows St., Jahrb. 1863, p. 471, in governing this (= τούτοις οἷς) by περιπεπτωκότα understood with αὐτόν τινα. But it is hardly credible that this could have been felt; and it seems better, with P. and Cl.'s earlier opinion, to resolve οἷς into τούτοις ἅ, the rel. being governed by προείπομεν (*cf.* c. 26. 20; ii. 8. 15) and κολάζειν being governed by the continued force of εἴπομεν now = ἐκελεύσαμεν. "Finding ourselves fallen under the operation of the rule which we proclaimed in Sparta (c. 40. 20), (when we recommended) that each power should discipline its own allies." But the words τοὺς σφετέρους . . . κολάζειν are bracketed by v. H. after Cobet, as a gloss introduced from c. 40. 20; and the use of σφετέρους as a poss. pron. of the sing. seems very dubious in prose. Kühn. 170, p. 463. See Naber, Mnem. 12, p. 33. — 3. **κομίζεσθαι**: usually of good things. *Cf.* iii. 58. 6; iv. 98. 25; Dem. xxi. 171, κεκόμισται χάριν παρ' ὑμῶν. — 4. **καὶ μὴ . . . βλάψαι**: *sc.* ὑμᾶς (inserted by v. H.), with abrupt change of subject. μή with inf. after ἀξιοῦν = οὐκ with ἀξιοῦν itself (as with

βλάψαι. τὸ δ' ἴσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον 2
εἶναι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ
ὁ ἀντιστὰς ἐχθρός. καὶ Κερκυραίους τούσδε μήτε ξυμ- 3
μάχους δέχεσθε βίᾳ ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσι.
καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δράσετε καὶ τὰ 4
ἄριστα βουλεύσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς."

44 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ 1
ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δὶς ἐκκλησίας, τῇ
μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς
λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμ-
μαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς
καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφί-
σιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμπλεῖν, ἐλύοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς

ἐᾶν, c. 133. 13). *Cf.* c. 136. 12; ii. 89. 2; iii. 44. 12.

5. **γνόντες**: *having determined, i.e.*, as Sh. says, "showing by your vote." — 6. **ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐχθρός**: the general statement of c. 41. 13 applied to the present case; *μάλιστα* belongs to both members. — 9. **βίᾳ ἡμῶν**: see on c. 11. 9; *in defiance of us*, a forcible *ἀκόντων ἡμῶν*. *Cf.* c. 68. 19; iv. 99. 6; v. 21. 9. — 11. **βουλεύσεσθε**: with acc. of a neut. pron. or adj. only. *Cf.* c. 85. 11; vi. 23. 9.

44. *The Athenians conclude a defensive alliance with the Corcyraeans.*

1. **τοιαῦτα δέ**: resumptive from c. 36. 22, as in c. 18. 11. So also iii. 49. 1 after iii. 41. 1. — 2. **καὶ δίς**: (not once but) *even twice*, indicating the seriousness of the matter in hand. *Cf.* iii. 87. 5, *καὶ δύο ἔτη*. — **τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ . . . ὑστεραίᾳ**: notice the omission of *ἐν* with *προτέρᾳ*, as in c. 128. 17; ii. 20. 3; though with words which are not properly designations of time *ἐν* is usually inserted. G. 189; H. 782; Kr. *Spr.* 48, 2, 9. Here *ἐκκλησίᾳ* is to be understood with both expressions. The adj. *ὑστεραία*, only fem. in Thuc., is used most frequently of the following *day*, though *ἡμέρα* is never expressed; yet here, iii. 91. 16; v. 46. 1; vii. 11. 8, it is joined with other nouns (*μάχη*, *ἐκκλησία*) of what takes place on the next day. But *προτεραία* is applied only to the preceding day itself, also without *ἡμέρα*. With other nouns *πρότερος* is used of occurrences on the preceding day, as here; iii. 36. 25; 41. 2; vii. 36. 5. (Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 33 ff.) — 4. **μετέγνωσαν**: = *τὴν γνώμην μεταβαλόντες ἔγνωσαν*. — 5. **ὥστε**: = *ἐφ' ᾧτε*. *Cf.* c. 29. 22; iii. 75. 4; 114. 15. The conj., however, is not used c. 117. 17; ii. 4. 31; iv. 54. 11; v. 48. 6, as in 9 below. — 7. **ἐλύοντ' ἄν**: not, of course, by the demand (*ἐκέλευον*), but by the assumed compliance with it, *i.e.* *εἰ κελευόντων τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ξυνέπλεον*. *σφίσιν*, depending on *ξυμπλεῖν*, refers to the Corcyraeans;

Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί), ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἴῃ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν, ἢν τι δέῃ, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται. ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθούς· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονιός

αὐτοῖς, depending on the pass. ἐλύοντο, to the Athenians. — 8. ἐπιμαχίαν: *a defensive alliance.* So v. 48. 8. — ἐποιήσαντο: after the parenthesis the government of μετέγνωσαν is lost sight of, and the fact is stated independently. — τῇ ἀλλήλων: *cf.* c. 15. 9; 142. 11; 143. 9, *etc.*

11. καὶ ὡς: *even under these circumstances, in any case. Cf.* iii. 33. 9; vii. 74. 2; viii. 51. 10; 56. 10; 87. 18. — καὶ ἐβούλοντο: though in parataxis, this expresses the consequence of the preceding, *and accordingly they wished.* — 13. ξυγκρούειν: trans. *bring into hostility.* Dem. XVIII. 19, 163; Arist. *Pol.* V. 11. 8 (1313 b. 17), διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν. In vii. 36. 26, intr. in a literal sense. — 14. ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν: placed first for emphasis. *Cf.* c. 36. 5. — τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . ἔχουσιν: = τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικοῖς, particularly the places named in c. 27. § 2. The insertion of a second τοῖς before ναυτικόν, with Bekk., P., v. H., Kr., is unnecessary, if ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν is taken as a compound word, which the frequent use of this expression rendered easy. *Cf.* iii. 13. 31; vii. 55. 8; and similarly c. 56. 11, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ξυμμάχους. But there also Bekk. and Kr. insert τούς. — 16. τῆς τε Ἰταλίας κτέ.: depending on ἐν παράπλῳ. *Cf.* c. 36. 10.

45. *And send them ten ships to protect them against attack on the part of the Corinthians.*

3. οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον: so c. 136. 11; and often ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, c. 137. 3; ii. 27. 6; 30. 10; 65. 12. — 4. Λακεδαιμόνιος: son of the great Cimon, who gave him this name because he was proxenus of Sparta. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, III. p. 12. Plutarch, *Per.* 29. 2, attributes the small number of ships to Pericles's desire to humiliate the family of Cimon. This rests, no doubt, on statements coloured by party feeling. See Grote, V. c. 47, p. 325. Diotimus is not elsewhere mentioned; Proteas was στρατηγός also in 431, ii. 23. 8. The names of these

τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἢν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν· προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἕνεκα τὰς σπονδάς. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, 46 οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἠλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα· στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ

3

2

generals are mentioned in the inscription providing for the expenses of the expedition, C. I. A. I. 179; Hicks, *Inscr.* No. 41. If it is rightly referred to the archonship of Apseudes, Ol. 86. 4, we may suppose that the debate just recounted took place early in B.C. 432, and the despatch of the 10 ships a little later. See App. on c. 51. 12.

6. **προεῖπον**: of a distinctly expressed order. *Cf.* c. 26. 20; 29. 3. On the repraesentatio by which the moods of the original are retained in the following conditions, see GMT. 77, 1 *a*; H. 933. — 8. **ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων**: so in c. 53. 17, and similarly v. 82. 25, **τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς πόλεων**. Observe that in *Attic* **τις** is interposed between art. and noun only when the art. is followed immediately by some other modifier of the noun; here by *ἐκείνων, masc.* In Hdt., however, often without this restriction. Kühn. 463, 1; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 9, 20. *Cf.* the position of **τις** in c. 106. 3; vi. 4. 3. — **οὕτω δέ**: *but in that case,* = **ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι**, just as **εἰ δὲ μή**, c. 32. 5, means "in the opposite case." — 10. **αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες κτέ.**: a usual parataxis in narration in passing from one side to the other, the particles **μὲν δή, μὲν οὖν** (c. 46. 17), and **μέν** alone (c. 54. 19; 58. 17) serving to sum up what precedes, while **δέ** introduces the new statement.

46. *The Corinthians with a fleet of 150 ships anchor in the harbour of Chimerium on the Thesprotian coast.*

1. **παρεσκεύαστο**: the impers. pass. is much rarer in Greek than in Latin. But *cf.* c. 49. 30; 73. 15; 78. 6; 91. 15; iii. 22. 1; iv. 14. 14; 67. 2; vi. 64. 25; vii. 75. 2; Plat. *Gorg.* 453 **d**; *Phaedr.* 230 c; 232 a. G. 198; H. 602; Kühn. 378, 7, note 2; Kr. *Spr.* 61, 5, 6. — **ἔπλεον**: impf. of the beginning of the undertaking. See on c. 26. 24. — 3. **Ἠλείων κτέ.**: Elis and Megara were allies, the other places colonies, of Corinth. — 5. **στρατηγοὶ δὲ κτέ.**: **ἦσαν** has the pregnant meaning *were present,* with **στρατηγοί** as pred. The officers of the separate allied contingents are not named, but by **μὲν καί** are put in contrast with the Corinthian commanders who doubtless had charge of the whole. —

Ξενοκλείδης ὁ Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 3
προσέμιξαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἠπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος
πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς.
ἔστι δὲ λιμήν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσ- 4
σης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἐξίησι δὲ
παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς
Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν,
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις πο-
ταμός, ὁρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς
ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς 5
ἠπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονταί τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιή-
47 σαντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι, ὡς ᾔσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέ- 1
οντας, πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς, ὧν ἦρχε Μικι-

7. **πέμπτος αὐτός**: *with four others*; the usual mode of indicating at once the whole number and the chief person. *Cf.* the German *selbander, selbdritter*. — 8. **προσέμιξαν**: used of approach to (*cf.* iii. 31. 13; vi. 104. 19), *ὁρμίζεσθαι*, of putting in to, the coast (*cf.* iii. 76. 6; viii. 11. 3; 92. 18). Here the aor., of the collective fleet, with dat., which as it were personifies the coast; the pres. with prep., of the several portions of it. *Cf.* iii. 22. 5, 12. — **κατά**: *over against*. *Cf.* c. 48. 11; ii. 30. 8. Leucas had no doubt been the rendezvous for the fleet. — 9. **Χειμέριον**: name both of roadstead and promontory, 16.

10. **ἔστι δὲ λιμήν**: *sc.* τὸ Χειμέριον. *Cf.* c. 30. 15. Strabo, vii. 7. 5, calls it Γλυκὺς λιμήν; now, acc. to Leake, *Northern Greece*, III. p. 4, Splantza. See App. — **ἀπό**: see on c. 7. 6. — 11. **Ἐλαιάτιδι**: the strip of coast on each side of the mouth of the Acheron, so called from the town Elaea. — **Ἐφύρη**: all Mss. give this name in the Ionic form, which was preferred in Attic. Herodian, Bekk. Anecd. p. 1173. — **ἐξίησι**: though found only in inferior Mss., to be preferred to ἔξεισι. *Cf.* ii. 102. 15; iv. 103. 4; Hdt. i. 6. 4; 180. 5; ii. 17. 20. **ἐσβάλλει** in 13 in the same sense occurs here only in Thuc. *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 48. 13; 49. 4; 57. 5. — 12. **Ἀχερουσία**: on this and the river Acheron, now the river of Suli or the Gurla, see Leake, *N. G.* I. p. 232, IV. p. 51–53, 94 ff. — 14. **Θύαμις**: now the Calamar, further to the north; between it and the Acheron (*ὧν ἐντός*) is the promontory Chimerium, now Varlás. — 16. **ἀνέχει**: *rises*. So iv. 53. 13; vii. 34. 10, προανεχούσαις. — **τῆς ἠπείρου**: part. gen. with the local adv. ἐνταῦθα, as with ἐς τοῦτο, c. 49. 31; iii. 57. 12. G. 168; H. 757.

47. *The Corcyraeans with* 110 *ships take their station at one of the Sybota islands, and the* 10 *Attic ships with them.*

2. **Μικιάδης**: to be preferred to Μει-

ἄδης καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἳ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα, καὶ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ δέκα παρῆσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ 2
ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται βεβοηθηκότες, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν 3
βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἠπειρῶται ἀεί ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.

48 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες 1
τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ πλέοντες καθορῶσι τὰς 2
τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεού-

κιάδης of the better Mss., as connected with *Μίκα, Μίκων*. Wecklein, *Curae Epigraphicae*, p. 56. — **4. Σύβοτα**: name of islands, promontory, and harbour on the Thesprotian coast, c. 50. 14; 54. 4; still existing in S. Nicolo di Sivota. — **καὶ . . . παρῆσαν**: closely connected with preceding sent.; *and the Attic ships too arrived immediately*. *παρῆσαν* = *παρεγένοντο*. *Cf.* iii. 6. 3.

5. Λευκίμμῃ: c. 30. 2. Strab. vii. 7. 5, *εἰσὶ δὲ νησίδες τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς μὲν Ἠπείρου μικρὸν ἀπέχουσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἑῷον ἄκρον τῆς Κερκυραίας τὴν Λευκίμμην κείμεναι*. — **6. ὁ πεζός**: subst. as in ii. 86. 13; vii. 62. 18; adj. with *στρατός*, iv. 8. 10. — **Ζακυνθίων**: though no alliance has been mentioned, they appear here from the similarity of their interests on the side of the Corcyraeans, as later (ii. 7. 17; iii. 94. 7; vii. 57. 33) with the Athenians. For *χίλιοι* supply *ἦσαν* from *ἦν*, but not, as Cl. says, here forming a periphrastic plpf. with the partic., as the local phrase is one of rest. *Cf.* c. 50. 14, *οἳ . . . προσεβεβοηθήκει*. The partic. is inserted as an afterthought. — **8. παραβεβοηθηκότες**: *παρα-* implies the drawing up along the coast. *Cf.* ii. 90. 15; iv. 14. 12; vii. 37. 18; 53. 5; 70. 5. The repetition of the word has an effect like that in c. 28. 8; 30. 17; and *ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ*, which has been without reason suspected, is in natural opposition to *ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ*. — **9. ἀεί ποτε**: expresses forcibly the continual existence of a state of things. See on c. 13. 16; ii. 102. 10.

48. *The putting to sea and arrangement of the two fleets.*

2. τριῶν ἡμερῶν: gen. of description, which in Greek is nearly confined to numerical definitions of magnitude and age. *Cf.* ii. 23. 11; iii. 1. 8; ii. 13. 50 (space); ii. 13. 33 (value). G. 167, 5; H. 729 d. — **ἀνήγοντο**: impf. as in c. 46. 2. — **ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν**: so ii. 83. 10; iv. 13. 13. In iii. 4. 6; vi. 34. 34 the dat. is used with *ἐπί* in same sense. Placed thus before the prep. *ὡς* implies the 'purpose,' 'intention' of the subj. *Cf.* c. 50. 21; 62. 20.

3. καὶ . . . καθορῶσι: lively transition by parataxis. See on c. 26. 16. — **4. μετεώρους**: *out at sea*. *Cf.* ii. 91. 12; iii. 33. 15; iv. 14. 3; *etc.* Not in this sense in Hdt. or Xen.

σας. ὡς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο ἐπὶ 3
μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ
ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον, τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν
ἦρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκάστου εἷς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι
ἐτάξαντο, Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρί- 4
δες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον
οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἕκαστοι, εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ
οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς
49 Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον. ξυμμί- 1
ξαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἑκατέροις ἤρθη, ἐναυμάχουν,
πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τῶν κατα-
στρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ

5. **ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο**: so placed to include both sides and all their divisions; but in the details this connexion is at once given up. The Attic ships are named first, because such enumerations usually begin with the right wing. *Cf.* ii. 90. 6; iii. 107. 23; iv. 43. 8. — 6. **τὸ ἄλλο**: includes the remainder of the right wing, the centre, and the left. So **ἐπεῖχον**, as in iii. 107. 25, indicates the extent of this portion. — 7. **τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες**: they formed three divisions *Cf.* ii. 81. 8; iii. 50. 6; vi. 62. 2. **τέλος** applied to a fleet, vi. 42. 8; to cavalry, ii. 22. 10; iv. 96. 20; to land forces in general, ii. 81. 8. — **ὧν . . . εἷς**: an involved order of words, **ὧν** depending on **ἑκάστου** and **στρατηγῶν** on **εἷς**. v. H. after Cobet inserts **τῶν** before **τριῶν**.

9. **Κορινθίοις**: dat. as in c. 6. 8. — 10. **εἶχον**: the regular verb in such tactical statements. *Cf.* iii. 107. 23; iv. 31. 10; 93. 17; vi. 67. 3; 101. 20; vii. 34. 11; 52. 6; viii. 104. 9. In ii. 81. 11 and vii. 70. 9 we have **ἔχειν τὸ μέσον**, for which here **κατὰ τὸ μέσον**, *sc.* **ἐτάξαντο**, perhaps because **ἔχειν** could hardly be said of the small number of 21 ships, c. 46. 3, 4. — 10. **κατὰ τὸ μέσον**: *at the centre*, but 12, **κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**, *over against* (c. 46. 8). *Cf.* iii. 108. 6 with 107. 29; 108. 10. — 11. **ὡς ἕκαστοι**: singuli deinceps, there being no need of a precise statement of order. See on c. 3. 19; 67. 13.

49. *In the battle near Sybota the Corcyraeans conquer on their left wing; on their right and in the centre, where they are being beaten, the* 10 *Attic ships vainly come to their aid.*

1. **ξυμμίξαντες**: of hostile meeting, c. 50. 7; 62. 21; v. 9. 26; 65. 11; vii. 6. 9; viii. 25. 19; 104. 14; of friendly conjunction, ii. 84. 34; iii. 110. 4; vii. 26. 4. — 2. **ἐπειδὴ . . . ἤρθη**: gives the time of **ξυμμίξαντες**, not of **ἐναυμάχουν** (impf. as c. 26. 23). To **ἤρθη**, which implies the raising a flag or some such signal (Schol. **σύμβολά τινα περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μάχης δεικνύμενα**) is opposed **κατεσπάσθη**, c. 63. 14. — 4. **τῷ παλαιῷ κτέ.**: *cf.* c. 10. 32. This want of naval skill is shown in the large number of variously armed soldiers

παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. ἦν τε 2
ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ
δὲ τὸ πλέον προσφερὴς οὖσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλοιεν 3
ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπό τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου
τῶν νεῶν καὶ μᾶλλόν τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατα-
στρώματος ὁπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οἳ καταστάντες ἐμά-
χοντο ἡσυχαζουσῶν τῶν νεῶν· διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ
θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ πλέον ἐναυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ. παν- 4
ταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος, καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυ-
μαχία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυ-
ραίοις, εἴ πῃ πιέζοιντο, φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν

on board (ἐπιβάται). "The number of combatants assigned to a ship was diminished in the same degree in which the art of fighting at sea was improved." Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* p. 383. While in early times the number was probably 30 (see on c. 29. 4), "in the Peloponnesian war only 10 heavy-armed epibatae used to be put on board of a trireme." *Ibid.* p. 384.

5. ἦν τε: *and so* (c. 4. 5) *it actually was*, as might be expected from the large fighting force. ἦν placed first, as in c. 25. 23. — 6. τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ . . . οὖσα: the reason of the fight being καρτερά is expressed in varied form (*cf.* 8); "the battle was hotly contested, not so much from the skill displayed, as because it was more like a battle on land." οὐχ ὁμοίως = ἧσσον. *Cf.* ii. 60. 21; v. 11. 13. τὸ πλέον = μᾶλλον. *Cf.* 12; c. 69. 32; 74. 20; 81. 6; ii. 89. 21, *etc.*

7. ἐπειδὴ προσβάλοιεν: this is to be preferred to προσβάλλοιεν of most Mss., as expressing the repetition of rapid shocks. So in vii. 70. 31. On the other hand, 15, πιέζοιντο, of longer enduring pressure. — 8. ἀπελύοντο: see on c. 18. 28. *Cf.* vii. 70. 31. — ὑπό τε πλήθους . . . πιστεύοντες: the reasons expressed first by a subst., then by a partic., as in 6. "They did not readily get clear of one another, partly from the number and throng of the ships, and still more because they trusted for victory to the hoplites on the decks." — 10. καταστάντες: *when they had got into position*. *Cf.* c. 59. 7; ii. 1. 3; iii. 92. 24; v. 4. 15; more literally in iii. 86. 19; iv. 14. 23; 75. 8. — 11. διέκπλοι: the favourite Attic manœuvre of breaking through an enemy's line, and so taking the separated portions at a disadvantage to attack them on flank or rear; first mentioned by Hdt. vi. 12. 3; viii. 9. 9. — οὐκ ἦσαν: see on c. 2. 5. *Cf.* ii. 89. 35; vii. 36. 22; 70. 26.

14. παραγιγνόμεναι: "the durative tense of vision: '*rallying to* the Corcyraeans if they saw them pressed at any point.'" B. L. G. The subj. αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες is narrowed in the second clause to οἱ στρατηγοί, by whom the order to attack would be given. — 16. See App. τὴν πρόρρησιν: see c. 45. 6; the subst. of προειπεῖν, only here in this sense.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει. οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσῶντό τε καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ᾗ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγίγνετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο

19. **σποράδας**: *in disorder*, pred. to *καταδιώξαντες*. — 20. **ἐπεκβάντες**: *landing in pursuit*. *Cf.* viii. 105. 3. — 21. **ἐρήμους**: = *ἐρήμους καταλαβόντες*. *ἔρημος* is of two terminations also in ii. 4. 19; iii. 22. 13; 67. 14; 106. 4; of three, in ii. 32. 3; 81. 7; iv. 26. 13; vi. 61. 37. — **τὰ χρήματα**: in the general sense of property. *Cf.* iii. 74. 10; vi. 97. 27.

22. **οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι**: an expression adapted to the diverse fortunes of the allied forces (though in c. 48. 9 and c. 49. 17 *οἱ Κορίνθιοι* is given alone, as the leading power) which is subj. of *ἐνίκων*, 24, as well as of *ἡσσῶντο*, 23, but restricted in each case by the local phrases *ταύτῃ μέν* and *ᾗ δὲ κτέ*. The particles *τε καί* have the effect of combining complements or opposites into an exhaustive whole; the second clause is here added (as Cl. says, almost as if it were parenthetical) to give the reverse side of the action expressed in the first. It is not necessary to bracket *τε*, or with St. to read *τότε*. — 25. **ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους**: *from a smaller number to begin with, i.e.* 110 against 150. *Cf.* ii. 65. 7; viii. 87. 33.

27. **μᾶλλον ἀπροφασίστως**: *i.e.* than as in 15. But there are still two stages: (1) *ἀπεχόμενοι . . . τινί*, "so far as not actually to attack"; (2) *ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . οἱ Κορίνθιοι*, "as soon as the Corcyraeans began decidedly (*λαμπρῶς*, see on vii. 55. 1) to turn their backs." — 29. **ἐγίγνετο**: though found in only one Ms., the impf. is necessary here to represent the beginning of the flight, while the Corinthians *ἐνέκειντο*. So too P. and St. *Cf.* the impf. with *κατὰ τάχος*, iii. 106. 3; with *θᾶσσον*, iii. 111. 5; with *διὰ τάχους*, iii. 109. 20. Not till the rout is complete do we find c. 50. 1, *τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης*. — 30. **τότε δή**: introduces the decisive moment with reference to the serious consequences of it. *Cf.* c. 58. 10; so *οὕτω δή*, c. 131. 8; ii. 12.

οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους.

50 Τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη 1
μὲν οὐχ εἷλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἃς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν, τούς τε αὑτῶν φίλους, οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι
5 ὅτι ἥσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ, ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς 2
θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρα-

16. — **ἔργου εἶχετο**: *put his hand to the work*. *Cf.* c. 78. 8; ii. 2. 23; Hdt. viii. 11. 4. — **ἤδη**: emphasizes the critical instant. *Cf.* c. 18. 28. — **καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι**: *and no longer was any distinction maintained* between the Corcyraeans who were declared enemies, and the Athenians who were nominal allies, of the Corinthians. See on c. 46. 1. — 31. **ξυνέπεσεν**: impers., like a stronger *ξυνέβη*. *Cf.* iv. 68. 8. — **ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης**: see on c. 5. 10. *Cf.* *ἐς τοῦτο ξυμφορᾶς*, iii. 57. 12; *ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας*, vii. 86. 25; *ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς*, ii. 18. 1; *ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης*, Plat. *Theaet.* 170 d; *εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως*, Dem. iv. 37; xxii. 16. — **ἐπιχειρῆσαι**: with dat. in proper sense; *cf.* iii. 94. 23; vi. 48. 12; = *ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν*, c. 52. 13.

50. *The Corinthians improve their victory, but abstain from a second engagement, since* 20 *additional Attic ships come up.*

1. **τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης**: see on c. 49. 29. — **τὰ σκάφη**: *hulls*. Schol. *τὰ κοιλώματα τῶν νεῶν ἃ ἡμεῖς γάστρας καλοῦμεν*. The contrast between what was usually done and the action of the Corinthians is brought out by the position of *τὰ σκάφη μὲν κτέ.* and *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κτέ.* *Cf.* c. 44. 5, 8. — 2. **εἷλκον ἀναδούμενοι**: *took in tow and hauled off*: the regular expression. *Cf.* ii. 90. 26; iv. 14. 9; vii. 74. 16. — **ἃς**: unassimilated for *ὧν*. *Cf.* c. 52. 9; 99. 13; ii. 61. 12; 92. 19. — **ἃς καταδύσειαν**: iterative opt., *whatever ships they disabled*. — 3. **φονεύειν . . . ζωγρεῖν**: dependent upon *ἐτράποντο*. *Cf.* ii. 65. 43, *ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι*. This relation is not prevented by the position of *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, which is required by the contrast. The partic. *διεκπλέοντες* describes the way in which they did it. — 4. **τούς τε αὑτῶν φίλους**: the Megarians and Ambraciots of the defeated right wing. *Cf.* c. 49. 22. *τε* adds a *third* member. See on c. 2. 6; 33. 6. — 5. **ἐπὶ δεξιῷ**: the Vat. Ms. omits the art. *Cf.* c. 48. 11; iv. 93. 17; vi. 67. 2. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 2, 13.

6. **ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης**: taken together as the object of *ἐπεχουσῶν*, = *μέγα μέρος τῆς θαλάσσης*. *Cf.* ii. 76. 20; iv. 3. 11; 12. 16; vii. 65. 7; as nom., iv. 100. 12. Kühn. 351, 3. — 7. **ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν**: *as soon as they had joined battle*: quite different from the opt. in c. 49. 7. — 8. **τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο**: = *διεγίγνωσκον*: with Thuc. a

τοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη Ἕλλησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 3 κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἳ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβοηθήκει· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρῆμος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες αὖθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλοίμοις 4 καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντεπέπλεον, δείσαντες μὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὀψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιάνιστο αὐτοῖς 5

favourite periphrasis for a simple verb. *Cf.* c. 6. 3; 8. 12; 51. 8; 68. 7; 72. 9. — **ὁποῖοι**: Cl. explains *what sort of men*, whether friend or foe, since probably difference of dress or arms would be little observed. But Sh. reads *ὁπότεροι* after Cobet, who, however, now brackets the whole clause. — 9. **ναυμαχία γὰρ . . . γεγένηται**: on the order, see on c. 1. 8. The pf. takes this sentence out of the course of the narrative and presents the statement as it would be made by an observer who witnessed the result. — 10. **τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς**: see on c. 1. 4.

12. **τὰ ναυάγια**: *i.e.* the wrecks, and the men that were on them, the saving of whom was their chief care. See L. Herbst, *Die Schlacht bei den Arginusen*, p. 37, note 51. — 14. **οἱ αὐτοῖς κτέ.**: *cf.* c. 47. 7; ii. 86. 13. — 15. **ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα**: (see on c. 47. 5) the same turn as in c. 46. 10; here, however, the repetition of the name is necessitated by the parenthesis. — 16. **τοῦτο ποιήσαντες**: *i.e.* *προσκομίσαντες τοὺς νεκρούς.*

18. **καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν**: *i.e.* those which were not present at the first engagement but had come up later. For the Corcyraeans, c. 25. 24, had 120 ships, and had engaged with only 110, c. 47. 3. — **καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντεπέπλεον**: this is the correct reading here and in c. 54. 18 (though Bekk. reads *ἀντέπλεον* with the best Mss.), after *ἐπέπλεον*. *καὶ αὐτοί* is not necessary, since *ἀντι-* denotes only *on their part* and not 'against'; but it gives additional force. *Cf.* c. 105. 28; iv. 124. 17; v. 6. 9; viii. 104. 4. See Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Krit.* I. p. 9. — 19. **πειρῶσιν**: the act. *πειρᾶν* (ii. 72. 21; 77. 5; iv. 9. 16; 102. 4; 128. 4) and the mid. *πειρᾶσθαι* (c. 25. 5; 31. 11; 71. 27; 78. 14; 81. 5; 143. 3; ii. 35. 19; 58. 6; iii. 38. 13; iv. 15. 10, *etc.*) are used with the inf., apparently without important difference of meaning. Perhaps the act. presents rather the notion of risk, and the mid. of effort.

20. **ἤδη δὲ ἦν . . . καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι**: parataxis, as c. 26. 17; 29. 13. Soph. *Phil.* 355. Kühn. 518, 8. St. rightly prefers *ἐπεπαιάνιστο* to the form with *ω* (*παιων-*). Schol., *δύο παιᾶνας ᾖδον οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τῷ Ἄρει, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλω-*

ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεούσας, ἃς ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὦσι. 51 ταύτας οὖν προϊδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες 1 ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι, οὐχ ὅσας ἑώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους, ὑπανεχώρουν· τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ 2 τοῦ ἀφανοῦς) οὐχ ἑωρῶντο καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρουομένους, πρίν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι. τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν (ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη), καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμε-

νι. — 21. **πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο**: *backed water*: withdrew without turning the vessels. Schol., *τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ στρέψαντα τὸ πλοῖον. Cf.* c. 51. 5; 54. 16; iii. 78. 12. — 23. **ἃς ὕστερον κτέ.**: *now these the Athenians had sent out later. Cf.* the same use of the rel. pron., c. 35. 15; and for the aor. = our plpf. in rel. sentence, *cf.* c. 99. 9; ii. 92. 9; 98. 6; iii. 86. 8; Plat. *Phaed.* 59 d. Kühn. 386, 15. — 25. **ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν**: *cf.* Hdt. vi. 109. 3; vii. 207. 9. "Not precisely our 'too few to aid,' which would be *ἐλάσσονες ἢ ἀμύνειν*. The latter expresses disbelief, the former, misgiving." Sh. *Cf. ταπεινὴ ἐγκαρτερεῖν*, ii. 61. 12; *φύσεις χαλεπαὶ ἄρξαι*, vii. 14. 6; *βραχέα περιγίγνεσθαι*, v. 111. 8. GMT. 93, 1; H. 952.

51. *The Corcyraeans return to the harbour of Leucimme, into which the Attic ships also sail.*

1. **προϊδόντες**: *when they saw them from afar. Cf.* iii. 22. 6; iv. 34, 22; vii. 25. 32; 44. 10; and so *πρόοψις*, v. 8. 11. — 2. **οὐχ ὅσας**: *not so few as*; explained by **ἀλλὰ πλείους**.

3. **ἐπέπλεον γὰρ κτέ.**: see on c. 31. 7. The close connexion of the parenthesis with the main sentence is seen in the reference of the dat. *τοῖς Κερκυραίοις* to the adverbial *ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς* (*cf.* c. 34. 10; 35. 17; 39. 2), 'less visibly for them.' But the dat. may be taken as of the agent interested, with *ἑωρῶντο*. G. 188, 3; H. 769; Kühn. 423, 25 c. *Cf.* Plat. *Legg.* 716 b, *λέγεται ἡμῖν*; Virg. *Aen.* i. 440, neque cernitur ulli. — 4. **καὶ ἐθαύμαζον**: as if *οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὐχ ἑώρων αὐτάς* had preceded. — 5. **πρίν**: *until*, with indic. *Cf.* c. 118. 14; 132. 28; iii. 29. 5; 101. 13; 104. 42; v. 61. 6; vii. 39. 5; 71. 26; viii. 105. 9. In all these instances the principal clause is actually or virtually negative; as here, "they could not make out what they were about, till —." See Gildersleeve, Am. J. of Ph. II. 469. — **ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι**: almost a direct exclamation: "yonder are ships sailing up." *Cf.* c. 27. 2. — 6. **καὶ αὐτοί**: as well as the Corinthians, c. 50. 21. — 7. **καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι κτέ.**: continues the narrative from c. 50. 21. **ἀποτρα-**

νοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ 3
ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. τοῖς 4
δὲ Κερκυραίοις στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ
αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὗται, ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων
τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν
καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὤφθησαν. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι 5
(ἦν γὰρ νύξ) ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμιαι ὦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ
ἔγνωσαν, καὶ ὡρμίσαντο.

52 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγαγόμεναι αἵ τε Ἀττικαὶ τριά- 1
κοντα νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλόιμοι ἦσαν ἐπέ-
πλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίν-
θιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. οἱ 2

πόμενοι, opp. to πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, implies the actual turning of the ships, and τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο (see on c. 50. 8) the breaking up of regular order, in order to reach the harbour, where they are found, c. 52. 3.

8. **ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο**: periphrasis of ἀπηλλάγησαν, "they separated."— 9. **ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα**: *lasted till night*, continued to night, and then ended. *Cf.* iii. 78. 15; 108. 18; μέχρι τοῦδε ὡρίσθω, c. 71. 15; ἐς τὸ . . . ἔχον ὁρίζοντες, iii. 82. 62.

τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις κτέ.: the dat. depends on προσκομισθεῖσαι, *having made their way to join*. Cl. interprets στρατοπεδευομένοις as if it were pf. partic., and then finds it necessary to assume a change of subj. (as in iii. 5. 17) in 16, supplying αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες for ὡρμίσαντο. This seems unnecessary. The impf. partic. στρατοπεδευομένοις implies that at that time the Corcyraeans were engaged in the process of taking their station at their encampment. It must be assumed that, while the character of the strange ships was doubtful, the operation of bringing the ships to their station was suspended, since it might prove necessary to resist an attack. When, however, the Corcyraeans had ascertained the nationality of the new-comers, they then brought their ships to a stand, ὡρμίσαντο. See Müller-Strübing, Jahrb. 127, 589. In αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν note the absence of the art. before ἀπό. *Cf.* vi. 55. 5; vii. 41. 6. — 12. **Ἀνδοκίδης**: this cannot be the orator, who was born about B.C. 440. It might possibly have been his grandfather of the same name. See App.

52. *The Corinthians decide to withdraw without further fighting.*

1. **ἀναγαγόμεναι**: see on c. 29. 18. — 3. **τὸν ἐν Συβότοις λιμένα**: *cf.* ii. 25. 22; iv. 25. 22. — 4. **βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι**: bracketed by Kr., occurs in v. 21. 13; vi. 44. 24; 62. 4. The synesis βουλόμενοι after αἱ νῆες is not more surprising than τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους, c. 143. 7; τὴν ἡλικίαν ὤν, iii. 67. 11, *etc.* See App.

δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἑκόντες, ὁρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς, οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὖσαν, τῶν νεῶν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ· τοῦ 3 δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐῶσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν.

53 ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐσβιβάσαντας ἄνευ 1 κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πεῖραν ποιή-

5. **τὰς μὲν ναῦς . . . ἄρχειν**: corresponds to 10, *τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ . . . διεσκόπουν*. Their preparations seemed to show an intention of renewing the fight; but in fact they were thinking rather of returning home. *ἄραντες*, of putting to sea, only here with acc. obj. It is freq. abs., ii. 25. 15; 56. 16; 103. 1; iii. 32. 1; 91. 8; iv. 11. 4; 45. 1; v. 3. 26; vi. 94. 2; 104. 15; vii. 26. 2; 69. 27; viii. 28. 2; 32. 5; 88. 10; or with a dat., c. 29. 4; ii. 23. 9; iii. 95. 9; iv. 129. 11; vi. 43. 2; 51. 12; viii. 60. 10; 79. 4; 99. 14. Once, in viii. 39. 4, we find *αἱ νῆες ἄρασαι ἔπλεον*. In the same way, since *μετεώρους, in the open sea*, must have *ναῦς* supplied, *παραταξάμενοι* here only is used with acc.; abs. in c. 29. 18; iv. 73. 3; v. 59. 9; vii. 3. 3. — 8. **ἀκραιφνεῖς**: see on c. 19. 8. — **πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα**: = *τὰ ἄπορα ἃ ξυνεβεβήκει πολλὰ ὄντα*; and these difficulties are explained by the clauses *αἰχμαλώτων περὶ φυλακῆς* and *ἐπισκευὴν . . . ἐρήμῳ*, which again depends on *ὁρῶντες*. With the former of these *cf. σεισμῶν πέρι*, c. 23. 12. *περί* so used almost means 'that is to say,' 'for example.' *Cf.* Plat. *Rep.* 425 c; 479 c. — 10. **ἐπισκευήν**: *opportunity for repairs*. — **οὐκ οὖσαν**: see on c. 2. 5.

τοῦ οἴκαδε πλοῦ: this gen. is placed proleptically before the dependent sentence, *ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται*, which, as containing an inquiry as to the manner of carrying out their design, stands to *τοῦ πλοῦ* as a part to the whole. *Cf.* c. 68. 7. Kühn. 417, note 9. So Cl. "The gen. at the head of a sentence is often used without strict dependence. Here *τοῦ πλοῦ* = *τὸ τοῦ πλοῦ*." B. L. G. Cobet reads *τὸν πλοῦν*. — 12. **τὰς σπονδάς**: *τὰς τριακοντούτεις*, c. 23. 19; 35. 1; 40. 11, 15. — **οὐκ ἐῶσι**: see on c. 28. 9.

53. *The Athenians do not interfere with their departure.*

1. **ἔδοξεν οὖν**: the result of *διεσκόπουν*, c. 52. 11. — **ἐσβιβάσαντας**: acc. though following *αὐτοῖς*. See on c. 31. 10. — 2. **κηρυκείου**: *a herald's staff*, caduceus. Schol. *ξύλον ὀρθὸν ἔχον ἑκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιπεπλεγμένους καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους κειμένους*. To bear such a staff would have been a recognition of a state of war. *Cf.* ii. 1. 3. — **πεῖραν ποιήσασθαι**: *to test their intentions*.

σασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε· "Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄν- 2
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες·
ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένοις ἐμπο-
δὼν ἵστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δ' ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ
κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἄλλοσε εἴ ποι βουλό-
μεθα πλεῖν καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε λαβόν-
τες πρῶτον χρήσασθε ὡς πολεμίοις." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα 3
εἶπον· τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον
ἐπήκουσεν ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπο-
κτεῖναι, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο· "Οὔτε ἄρχο- 4
μεν πολέμου, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς
λύομεν, Κερκυραίοις δὲ τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὖσι βοηθοὶ ἦλ-
θομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποι βούλεσθε πλεῖν, οὐ κω-
λύομεν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλευσεῖσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων
54 τι χωρίων, οὐ περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν." τοιαῦτα 1
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι τόν τε
πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ' οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστη-

3. **πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον**: *and accordingly they sent and said* (by the mouth of messengers). *Cf.* ii. 71. 6, *etc.* — **ἀδικεῖτε**: *cf.* c. 37. 3. — 4. **πολέμου . . . σπονδάς**: without art., the reproach being generalized, "being beginners of war and truce-breakers." Below, 8, *τὰς σπονδάς*, in reference to the actually existing truce. — 5. **πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους**: *cf.* c. 1. 5. — **ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε**: see on c. 40. 13. — 6. **ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστί**: only here; elsewhere *γνώμην ἔχειν*. *Cf.* ii. 86. 17; iii. 92. 11; iv. 125. 20; vii. 72. 18; viii. 44. 2. — 7. **κωλύειν τε**: should strictly be followed by *καὶ λύειν*, which Cobet reads; but in the second clause the purpose is vividly expressed as a fact. — 8. **ἡμᾶς τούσδε**: obj. of *λαβόντες*, and then to be supplied in thought in the dat. for *χρήσασθε*. — 9. **πρῶτον**: referring to the whole sentence, "first of all commit this wrong." *Cf.* vi. 3. 5.

10. **τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον**: the *μέν* points to an unmentioned antithesis: the leaders kept silent, while the excited multitude called for the death of the messengers. So Cl.; but see App. — 11. **ἐπήκουσεν**: here and in ii. 36. 20 of hearing from a distance. — **ἀνεβόησεν**: takes the inf., as containing an *ἐκέλευσε*. — 16. **εἰ . . . πλευσεῖσθε**: minatory form of cond. See on c. 36. 17. — **ἐς τῶν . . . χωρίων**: see on c. 45. 8. — 17. **κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν**: pro viribus. *Cf.* ii. 89. 39; v. 23. 5; vii. 36. 23.

54. *The Corinthians as well as the Corcyraeans erect a trophy.*

3. **παρεσκευάζοντο**: impf. of the time which elapsed before their de-

σαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος τῆς νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις ὡς νενικηκότες. γνώμῃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι τοιᾷδε τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο· Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός, ὥστε καὶ ναυάγια πλεῖστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔστησαν τροπαῖον· Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ

parture, c. 55. 1, during which *τροπαῖον ἔστησαν* aor. — 4. **τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ**: *cf.* c. 50. 15; *τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*, 8. See on c. 47. 5. — 5. **τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς**: here and in 15 taken together with the art. *τά* as constituting one notion (see on c. 6. 1 and c. 143. 23), as also the following *τὰ ἐξενεχθέντα* refers to both. The clauses *τά τε ναυάγια κτέ.* and 7, *καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν κτέ.* are parallel to the two preceding about the Corinthians, and this is enforced by *ἀντέστησαν*. See on c. 50. 18. — **ἀνείλοντο**: the collection of the corpses (not *ὑποσπόνδους*, *i.e.* without applying to the enemy for permission) was understood as a sign that the field was still maintained, and therefore of victory, which at sea under particular circumstances, as here, might be claimed by both parties. — 6. **ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου**: one article for both nouns, which is the less felt because the gender as well as the direction and activity of both is the same. — **γενόμενος**: often used of the phenomena of nature, *ὕδωρ, βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί, σεισμός*. *Cf.* c. 101. 5; ii. 5. 5; 77. 23; iii. 87. 9; iv. 75. 17; vi. 70. 2; viii. 41. 10. So also *ἡμέρα* and *νύξ*.

8. **γνώμῃ τοιᾷδε**: the adj. gains force from position. See on c. 1. 6. — 10. **μέχρι νυκτός**: *cf.* c. 50. 20. — 11. **προσκομίσασθαι**: mid. *conveyed to their side*, without further designation of place. But c. 50. 13, *προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα*. — 12. **οὐκ ἐλάσσους**: = *ὀλίγῳ πλείους*, as is seen in c. 55. § 1. *Cf.* ii. 31. 10; iii. 68. 14; 75. 22; 87. 7; vi. 25. 7; vii. 75. 27; 87. 19. The number given states the limit which may be exceeded but must be reached: *at least*. — 14. **μάλιστα**: see on c. 13. 11. — **καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον**: this clause, as also the corresponding one in 18, separates sharply between the two aspects of the occurrences of the two days: (*a*) favourable for the Corcyreans, (1) the destruction of 30 ships on the Corinthian right wing, c. 49. § 5; (2) the recovery of their dead, c. 54. § 1. (*b*) unfavourable for the Corinthians, (1) their retreat on the evening of the first day when they had got sight of (*ἰδόντες*) the Athenian ships, c. 51. § 1; (2) their refusal to renew the engagement after the

15 Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. οὕτω
55 μὲν ἑκάτεροι νικᾶν ἠξίουν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀποπλέοντες 1
ἐπ' οἶκον Ἀνακτόριον, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἷλον ἀπάτῃ (ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων), καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰ-
5 κήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μὲν οἳ ἦσαν δοῦλοι ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δήσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους
10 πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω 2
περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν

Athenians had joined the Corcyraeans, c. 52. § 2, 3. See App. — 16. **τῇ προτεραίᾳ**: see on c. 44. 2. — 18. **ἀντεπέπλεον**: for the form, see on c. 50. 19; for the fact, see c. 52. § 2, 3. — 19. **οὕτω**: corresponds to *γνώμῃ τοιᾷδε* of 9. — 20. **νικᾶν**: inf. of the impf. *ἐνίκων*. See on c. 13. 32. For this use of *νικᾶν, be victorious, cf.* iii. 8. 5; vii. 34. 24. Kr. *Spr.* 53, 1, 3.

55. *The Corinthians and the Athenians return home.*

2. **Ἀνακτόριον**: a little to the south of Actium, c. 29. 10. — 3. **ἀπάτῃ**: opposed to *βίᾳ*, which is joined with it in iv. 86. 5. — **ἦν δὲ κοινὸν κτέ.**: it was therefore a compensation for their lost interest in Epidamnus. The gen. is possessive, and *κοινόν* a secondary pred. — 6. **δοῦλοι**: these were no doubt the *ἐρέται*, whereas the 250 were *ἐπιβάται*. — 7. **δήσαντες ἐφύλασσον**: as the Corcyraeans held the captive Corinthians, c. 29. 23; 30. 4. — **ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον**: a periphrastic expression to denote an enduring relation. *Cf. ἐν φυλακῇ*, iv. 14. 26; *ἐν ἡδονῇ*, iii. 9. 4; *ἐν ὀρρωδίᾳ*, ii. 89. 3; *ἐν ὀργῇ*, ii. 21. 22. — 8. **προσποιήσειαν**: causative to *προσχωρεῖν*. *Cf.* ii. 2. 16; and iii. 70. 5, where the carrying out of this plan of the Corinthians leads to the bloody feud at Corcyra. — 9. **ἐτύγχανον**: as *ἦσαν, ἦν* in c. 25. 23; 49. 5, placed at the beginning to confirm the preceding remark: "and it actually was the case that the greater part of them belonged to the most influential families of the city." **δυνάμει**, of political importance, as in c. 77. 9.

11. **περιγίγνεται**: *maintained itself.* In this sense elsewhere abs. *Cf.* c. 32. 22; 69. 30; 141. 20 (*ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων*); ii. 49. 36 (*ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων*); iii.

Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

56 Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι τοῖς 1
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρασσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐ- 2
τούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Πο-
5 τειδαιάτας, οἳ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτε-

11. 23; 37. 12; 98. 18; iv. 10. 5; 27. 8; v. 60. 31; 111. 8; vi. 78. 12; probably here only with the gen. (*τῶν Κορινθίων, against the Corinthians*), with which it has commonly the meaning of 'overcome.' *Cf.* ii. 65. 61; iii. 82. 59; vii. 56. 17; viii. 53. 6; 76. 25. (B. gives the word this meaning here, comparing ii. 65. 61. v. H. brackets *τῶν Κορινθίων*: "quippe *περιγίγνεται* hic est salva fuit.") It is true that the Corcyraeans have the advantage of the Corinthians in having secured Epidamnus; but of this there is no thought here. For *τῷ πολέμῳ, in the war, cf.* ii. 13. 59. — **καὶ αἱ νῆες κτέ.**: added in parataxis as the consequence of the former clause. — **12. αἰτία αὕτη πρώτη**: on the order and construction, see on c. 1. 8. *Cf.* c. 50. 9. Cobet omits *τοῦ πολέμου*, giving *αἰτία* the meaning of *ἔγκλημα*. — **13. ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**: see on c. 38. 1. *Cf.* c. 66. 2; 79. 2. — **14. σφίσιν**: refers to *Κορινθίοις*, which is virtually the subject of the main sentence. — **ἐν σπονδαῖς**: *in time of peace*, during the continuance of the truce. *Cf.* ii. 5. 20; iii. 56. 4; 65. 2; vii. 18. 13. See on ii. 54. 3. — **ἐναυμάχουν**: inipf., "*they persisted in fighting*, notwithstanding the *σπονδαί*." B. L. G.

THE HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE CORINTHIANS AND THE ATHENIANS ON ACCOUNT OF POTIDAEA. Chaps. 56–66.

56. *The Athenians take measures to prevent the intended revolt of Potidaea, and to counteract the hostile designs of Perdiccas.*

2. διάφορα: pred. to *τάδε, ξυνέβη καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν, it came to pass that the following events also proved points of difference tending to war.* The article would otherwise be indispensable. *διάφορα* as in c. 67. 14; 78. 12; v. 45. 2. See on c. 68. 8.

3. ὅπως τιμωρήσονται: see on c. 19. 3. Here *πράσσειν = contrive, manœuvre. Cf.* iii. 4. 21; vi. 88. 19; iii. 70. 6, where also the future *ἀποστήσουσι* is to be preferred to the aor. subjv. — **4. ὑποτοπήσαντες**: see on c. 20. 9. — **Ποτειδαιάτας**: this form rather than *Ποτιδαιάτας* is confirmed by the constant usage in inscriptions, particularly the metrical one referred to on c. 63. 20 (Wecklein, *Cur. epigr.* p. 52). We should expect the art. here; but the use or omission of it by Thuc. with ethnic names seems quite arbitrary. — **6. Κορινθίων ἀποίκους**: the time of this settlement cannot be accurately fixed. It was certainly before

λεῖς, ἐκέλευον* τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τούς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπό τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τούς τε ἄλλους ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυν-
57 αποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους. ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ποτειδαι- 1
άτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ναυμαχίαν· οἵ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερῶς ἤδη 2
διάφοροι ἦσαν, Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὤν.

the Persian war. See O. Müller, *Die Dorier*, I. 6, 8. — **φόρου ὑποτελεῖς**: *cf.* c. 19. 6. — 7. **τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν**: by this means the town would be open on the seaside, and always accessible to the Athenians. The Spartans, on the contrary, desired towns to be open on the land side: see viii. 16. 12. For the verb, *cf.* c. 58. 17; 90. 25; iii. 3. 17; v. 33. 13. — 8. **ἐπιδημιουργούς**: probably officers of supervision, sent yearly to the colony. As **δημιουργοί** was a not uncommon title of town magistrates in Doric states (*cf.* v. 47. 54), so **ἐπιδημιουργός** seems to mean 'the chief demiurgus.' See Müller, *Dor.* II. 8, 5. *Cf.* **ἐπιστράτηγος**, Böckh, *Inscr.* II. 2285. — **ἐκπέμπειν**: inf. pres., following the aor., acc. to the common usage of this verb. See on c. 26. 2. — 11. **τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυμμάχους**: without a second art., as c. 44. 15. **ἐπὶ Θράκης**, the usual designation of the Thracian coast, so far as it was occupied by Hellenic colonies, from the mouth of the Hebrus on the east to the Thermaic gulf on the west; particularly Chalcidice as far as Amphipolis: chiefly in the phrases **τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης** and **οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι**. *Cf.* v. 34. 1. — 12. **ξυναποστήσωσι**: refers to the intr. **ἀποστῶσι**, but indicates not a common activity (as the compound in c. 37. 16; 39. 9), but a similar result.

57. *The Athenians send* 30 *triremes to secure their possessions in Thrace.*

1. **ταῦτα δέ κτέ.**: connected epexegetically with the preceding (as in 6, **ἐπολεμώθη δέ**) to define more precisely the time. — 2. **εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ναυμαχίαν**: the stress of the sentence lies on this: "the Athenians began to take these precautions immediately after the sea-fight, before the Corinthians could hinder them." This moment is emphasized by **ἤδη**, 3; and the two motives for the activity of the Athenians, the open enmity of the Corinthians and the hostile attitude of Perdiccas, are joined on the same level by **τε τε**. *Cf.* c. 8. 14; 26. 8. What in c. 56. 7 ff. appears merely as a direction given to the Potidaeans, is in this chap., 19 ff., laid as a command on the generals of the expedition.

5. **ἐπεπολέμωτο**: this verb is pass. also in c. 36. 10; *had been made an enemy*. In v. 98. 6 it is used trans. in the mid., 'to excite to hostility,' and

ἐπολεμώθη δέ, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδᾳ 3
κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιουμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμμαχίαν
ἐποιήσαντο. δεδιώς τε ἔπρασσεν ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα 4
πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννη-
σίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτειδαίας
ἕνεκα ἀποστάσεως· προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ 5
Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναποστῆναι, νομί-
ζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι, ὅμορα ὄντα χωρία, ῥᾷον ἂν
τὸν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὧν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 6
αἰσθόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων
τὰς ἀποστάσεις (ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστέλλοντες

so iii. 3. 4, προσπολεμώσασθαι. Alexander, the father of Perdiccas and Philip, had been friendly to the Greeks in the Persian war. See Hdt. v. 19 ff.; viii. 136 ff.; ix. 44 ff. Perdiccas, who originally possessed only lower Macedonia, had deprived Philip of upper Macedonia, which had been his portion. See ii. 100. 10. — 6. **Δέρδᾳ**: Schol., Δέρδας Ἀριδαίου παῖς, ἀνεψιὸς Περδίκκα καὶ Φιλίππου. In c. 59. 8 the brothers of this Derdas are mentioned among the opponents of Perdiccas, and the Pausanias of c. 61. 17 was probably one of them. — 7. **πρὸς αὐτόν**: unusual const. for αὐτῷ (so πολεμεῖν has both consts.), probably to avoid the repetition of dats. in different relations.

8. **δεδιώς τε**: the inferential τε, as in c. 4. 5; 49. 5. — **ἔπρασσεν**: *cf.* c. 56. 3. — 9. **ὅπως γένηται**: subjv. after a verb of *striving*. See GMT. 45; H. 885 b. — 10. **καὶ . . . προσεποιεῖτο**: as if the preceding clause had been ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἔπρασσε πέμπων. *Cf.*, for a like change to a finite verb, c. 53. 8; iii. 87. 3. — 11. **ἕνεκα**: for the position, see on c. 5. 6; *to bring about the revolt of Potidaea*. The impf. tenses express the effort without regard to the result.

προσέφερε λόγους: with dat. also in ii. 70. 7; iii. 4. 8; 109. 6; viii. 32. 12, but only here with following inf. See on c. 53. 11. — 12. **Χαλκιδεῦσι**: a collective name for the Greek settlers on the Thracian coast, because the most and oldest of them had issued from Chalcis in Euboea. — **Βοττιαίοις**: originally settled in eastern Macedonia near Pella, — a district which retained the name Bottiaeis, — they had under pressure of the Macedonians removed to the northwest part of the Chalcidian peninsula, which was called Βοττική. *Cf.* c. 65. 14. — 13. **ταῦτα**: the obj. of ἔχοι, conforming in gender to the attrib., ὅμορα ὄντα χωρία, though referring to Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις.

14. **τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι**: see on c. 6. 3; 34. 11. — **ὧν**: the gen. of the thing with αἰσθάνεσθαι in c. 72. 3; iv. 108. 31. *Cf.* iii. 102. 11; v. 83. 2. G. 171, 2; H. 742. — 15. **προκαταλαμβάνειν**: *to prevent*; here and v. 30. 5, with acc. of thing; with acc. of person, c. 33. 21; 36. 19; without obj., iii. 2. 15; 46. 25; vi. 18. 13. — 16. **ἔτυ-**

καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δύο στρατηγοῦντος), ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτειδαιατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν, τῶν τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται. Ποτειδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες 1 μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἴ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδέν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, [ἔπρασσον] ὅπως ἑτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἢν δέῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν ηὔροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἢν ἐπὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν,* τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες. καὶ Περδίκκας πείθει 2

χον γάρ: see on c. 31. 7. — 18. μετ' ἄλλων δύο: see App. — 19. ὁμήρους . . . καθελεῖν: the compliance, therefore, of the Potidaeans (c. 56. 7) was not to be waited for. — 20. φυλακὴν ἔχειν: *cf.* c. 143. 24; ii. 69. 3; viii. 13. 5; also ποιεῖσθαι, ii. 94. 21; vii. 17. 18.

58. *Potidaea, in concert with the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans, breaks off from Athenian control.*

2. καί: and *καί* in 3 combine into one whole the two acts which are contrasted by *μέν, δέ*. *Cf.* the double *καί* in comparative sentences. Kühn. 524, 2. — εἴ πως πείσειαν: so ii. 67. 5. The apod. is not formulated but implied, and *εἴ πως* has nearly the effect of *ὅπως* in 3. GMT. 53, N. 2; H. 907. *Cf.* Kühn. *Lat. Gr.* II. 219, 2. — 3. νεωτερίζειν: applied to any innovation in established order, specially to harsh and violent changes. *Cf.* ii. 3. 6; iv. 51. 3. — 4. [ἔπρασσον]: see App. — 5. ἢν δέῃ: after opt. GMT. 77, 2, N.; H. 933. — ἔκ πολλοῦ: temporal. *Cf.* c. 68. 17; ii. 85. 8; iv. 67. 12. — 6. ηὕροντο: see on c. 31. 11. — ἐπιτήδειον: in neut. almost a subst., as in vi. 41. 12; vii. 20. 11. *Cf.* c. 29. 16, *ἀπήγγειλαν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον*. — αἱ νῆες: see App. — 7. ὁμοίως: used not only with *πάντες* to denote 'without exception,' but with other antithetical expressions, stress being laid on the word to which *ὁμοίως* is annexed. *Cf.* c. 39. 4; 70. 25; iii. 47. 13 (in which places it stands with the former word); c. 141. 4. The ships were sailing against them as well as against Macedonia. — τὰ τέλη: see on c. 10. 30. — 8. ἢν ἴωσιν: subjv. after a past tense. GMT. 74, 1; H. 933. — 9. τότε δή: see on c. 49. 30. — 10. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον: *at such a favourable moment*, when the Athenians were threatened on several sides. This expression is not, therefore, as Cobet says, a mere gloss of *τότε δή*. *Cf.* ii. 84. 21.

Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὄλυνθον μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι· τοῖς τε ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾖ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνῳκίζοντό τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο· αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων 1
ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ τἆλλα ἀφεστηκότα. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ 2
στρατηγοὶ ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρός τε Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδου ἀδελφῶν ἄνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων. καὶ 1

13. **ἀνοικίσασθαι**: *cf.* c. 7. 9. — **ταύτην**: obj., with *μίαν πόλιν ἰσχυράν* pred. *Cf.* c. 10. 11, and ii. 15. 14, *ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι.* — 14. **τοῖς ἐκλιποῦσι**: a repetition of the preceding *ἐκλιπόντας*, after the execution of the scheme, and therefore without obj. — **τῆς . . . γῆς**: part. gen. depending on the limitation implied in *περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην.* — 15. **Μυγδονίας**: the eastern portion of Macedonia above Therma, separated by the Axius from Emathia. See ii. 99. 14.

59. *The 30 Attic ships proceed first to the Macedonian coast.*

2. **τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης**: see on c. 56. 11. — **τὴν Ποτείδαιαν**: the best Mss. have no *τε* here; so that, though the close connexion of the events would have justified *τε καί* (which B. has restored; see on c. 49. 22), they are here simply placed side by side with *καί*. In 4, 5, the particles correctly indicate two united objects of hostility. — 3. **ἀφεστηκότα**: *καταλαμβάνειν* in the sense of *meet with, find,* takes regularly the partic. pres. or pf., never aor., since only existing states can be in question. *Cf.* c. 61. 7; ii. 56. 20; iii. 69. 8; iv. 129. 2; vi. 53. 2; 94. 17; vii. 2. 6; 30. 2; 33. 25; viii. 55. 4; 65. 5. G. 279, 2; H. 982.

4. **ἀδύνατα εἶναι**: see on c. 7. 2. But Cobet reads *ἀδύνατοι*, comparing c. 32. 21; 105. 15; 117. 12. — 5. **τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία**: connected loosely with **Περδίκκαν**, for he *ἐπολεμώθη* (c. 57. 6), not *ἀπέστη.* — 6. **ἐφ' ὅπερ**: refers to the sentence as a whole. See App. on c. 33. 16. — 7. **καταστάντες**: see on c. 49. 10. — **μετὰ Φιλίππου κτέ.**: see on c. 57. 6. — 8. **ἄνωθεν**: from the upper country of the interior. *Cf.* ii. 99. 16; 102. 14; iii. 115. 3. — **ἐσβεβληκότων**: the pf. partic. implies that the invasion was independent of any previous concert with the Athenians.

60. *The Corinthians send Aristeus with 2000 men to the help of the Potidaeans.*

1. **καὶ ἐν τούτῳ**: *and then,* not

ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι πέμπουσιν ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς 2 ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τέ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτειδαιάταις ἀεί ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. καὶ ἀφι- 3 κνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θράκης ᾗ Ποτείδαια ἀπέστη.

61 Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν 1

of time, but emphasizing the importance of the occasion, which decides the action of the Corinthians; the circumstances are expressed in *τῆς Ποτειδαίας . . . οὐσῶν*, where the pf. and pres. partics. are quite proper. — 3. **περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ**: Thuc. uses *περί*, *for*, with dat. nearly always after verbs of fear. The gen., 'about,' occurs iii. 102. 11; viii. 93. 17. — 5. **μισθῷ πείσαντες**: here for *μισθοφόρους* (c. 35. 16). This phrase is common: c. 31. 5; ii. 96. 11; iv. 80. 22; vii. 57. 52: in the last passage the pass. is used, but the act. is more common. — 6. **ἑξακοσίους . . . τετρακοσίους**: the whole number (*τοὺς πάντας*, *in all*, c. 100. 6; viii. 21. 4) to which the Corinthians, *ἐθελονταί*, and the allies, *μισθῷ πεισθέντες*, contribute.

8. **Ἀδειμάντου**: see Hdt. viii. 59, 61. Schol., *τοῦτον ἴσμεν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα στασιάζοντα.* — 9. **ἦν γὰρ . . . ἐπιτήδειος**: gives the reason only of *ἐστρατήγει Ἀριστεύς*, the clause *κατὰ φιλίαν τε . . . ξυνέσποντο* being inserted parenthetically, and *τε* introducing this subordinate matter, as in c. 12. 15; 93. 24; ii. 10. 3; 19. 2. — 10. **ἀεί ποτε**: see on c. 13. 16; 47. 9.

11. **τεσσαρακοστῇ . . . ὕστερον**: dat. of time, *on the fortieth day after*. *Cf.* viii. 24. 5. Unusual, but not less correct logically than *τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις*, which would, however, be the dat. of measure or difference after a comparative. — **ἐπὶ Θράκης**: see on c. 56. 11. Here the expression is construed with a verb. — **ᾗ . . . ἀπέστη**: so the best Mss. for *ἥ*. The complete expression would be *ἡ ᾗ*, which v. H. reads here, as in Plat. *Crit.* 44 a in all Mss., and in *Symp.* 173 a in most Mss. But Buttmann, commenting on Dem. XXI. 119 (*τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὅτε ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν*), shows that the comparative particle *ἥ* might in such carelessly condensed expressions be easily omitted, but hardly the rel. pron. In Antiphon, VI. 37, the Mss. have *εὐθὺς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ᾗ ὁ παῖς ἐθάπτετο.*

61. *Thereupon the Athenians send 40 additional ships and 2000 hoplites to Macedonia and Thrace.*

1. **ἦλθε . . . ἡ ἀγγελία . . . καὶ πέμ-**

πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι, καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὡς ἤσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαριόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιάδου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν· οἳ 2 ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ἑρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορκοῦντας. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν 3 ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἔπειτα δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτείδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεύς παρεληλυθώς, ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς 4 Βέροιαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Στρέψαν, καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἑλόντες, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς

πεμπουσιν: parataxis as in c. 26. 16; 48. 3; and therefore a comma, not a colon or period, after ἀφεστᾶσι. — τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: see on c. 13. 12. — τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι: as we could have ἠγγέλθησαν αἱ πόλεις ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι, this prolepsis is retained when the verb passes into the noun ἀγγελία, which then takes the gen. *Cf.* viii. 15. 1, ἀγγελία τῆς Χίου. Similarly, c. 97. 13; 138. 7; ii. 42. 15. Kühn. 600, 5. — 3. ἐπιπαριόντας: see App. — 5. πέμπτον αὐτόν: Gilbert, *Innere Geschichte Athens*, p. 42, gives strong reasons for thinking that by such combinations of αὐτός with a numeral Thuc. means to indicate that the general named had the supremacy over his colleagues at the time. So in c. 62. 14 Callias is mentioned alone as στρατηγός.

6. πρῶτον: with ἀφικόμενοι, *first*, before going to Potidaea and τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, their main object. — καταλαμβάνουσι: see on c. 59. 2. The following words continue the narrative of that section. — 7. Θέρμην: restored to Perdiccas, ii. 29. 28.

9. ἐπολιόρκησαν: to this and the following finite verbs the united force of 3000 men (c. 57. 17; 61. 3) is subj., not the latest comers only. See on c. 18. 21. — 10. ἀναγκαίαν: *made under stress*, the ground of which is given in ὡς . . . παρεληλυθώς. This alliance was not felt as binding by either party; for the Athenians immediately resume hostilities, and Perdiccas ἀπέστη εὐθύς, c. 62. 6.

12. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι κτέ.: on this march, see App. — 13. ἐπὶ Στρέψαν: the emendation of Pluygers (Cobet, *N. L.* p. 382) for the unintelligible ἐπιστρέψαντες. Strepsa was in Mygdonia, north of Therma. — πειράσαντες: with gen., as iv. 70. 18; vii. 12. 7. — 14. ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν: Cl. thinks that these words with ἅμα δὲ νῆες κτέ., 17, imply that they started from Therma, to which they must have returned after their failure at Strepsa. But see App. It took them three

τὴν Ποτείδαιαν τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὁπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Παυσανίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι
62 ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ποτειδαιᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο. στρατηγὸν μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι ᾑρηντο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτειδαιάταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη

short marches (*τριταῖοι*, see on c. 12. 3) to reach Gigonus. — 15. **χωρίς**: here abs., *besides*. *Cf.* ii. 13. 29; 31. 11; iii. 17. 6; vi. 31. 39. — 16. **τῶν ξυμμάχων**: *i.e.* of those who remained faithful. — 17. **Φιλίππου**: the brother of Perdiccas, c. 57. 6. Schol., *Παυσανίας κατὰ μέν τινας υἱὸς τοῦ Δέρδου* (see on c. 57. 7), *κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἀδελφός*. — **νῆες ἑβδομήκοντα**: 30 in c. 57. 16; 59. 1; to which 40 are added in c. 61. 4.

62. *An engagement takes place between the two armies before Potidaea, not far from Olynthus.*

3. **ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο**: Cobet reads *ἐστρατοπέδευντο*, since the meaning must be h a b e r e (not p o n e r e) c a s t r a. *Cf.* iv. 54. 7; 129. 16. — **πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ**: in the neighbourhood of Olynthus on the isthmus. Aristeus marched to meet the advancing Athenians as far as the neighbourhood of Olynthus (60 stadia from Potidaea, c. 63. 9). While he himself with his main force occupied the approach to the isthmus (the road to Potidaea), and drew upon himself the chief attack, he had pushed forward the Chalcidian troops and the Macedonian cavalry to Olynthus itself, that they might assail in the rear the Athenians when engaged. But this flank attack was prevented by a detachment dispatched by the Athenians; the battle took place between the two main bodies on the road between Olynthus and Potidaea, at a considerable distance from the latter. See App. — 4. **ἐπεποίηντο**: *cf.* *ἡ ἀγορὰ παρεσκευάσθη*, vii. 40. 2; they had arranged that provisions should be for sale outside of Potidaea, to prevent the soldiers from dispersing. *Cf.* vii. 39. 10.

5. **στρατηγὸν μέν**: though *μέν* belongs strictly to *πεζοῦ*, opp. to *τῆς δὲ ἵππου*, it is attracted by the principal word, which belongs to the second clause also. "Often *μέν* and *δέ* attack different members of the antithesis with chiastic effect." B. L. G. on Pind. *Ol.* xi. 8. — 6. **ἀπέστη**: as plpf. of *ἀφέστηκα*. — 8. **ἄρχοντα**: *i.e.* as administrator of Macedonia. But Grote, V. c. 47, p. 335, understands that

τοῦ Ἀριστέως, τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἢν ἐπίωσι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππον ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νώτου βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Καλλίας δ' αὖ ὁ 4 τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως εἴργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτείδαιαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ 5 εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέως κέρας καὶ ὅσοι περὶ 6 ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες, ἔτρε-

Iolaus was the captain of the 200 horse, which seems implied by the words **τὴν παρὰ** (not **μετὰ**) **Περδίκκου** in 11.

9. **τοῦ Ἀριστέως . . . ἔχοντι**: a rare change of case at so short an interval, caused by the equivalence of **ἢν ἡ γνώμη** to **ἔδοξε**. (Cobet says: postulat Graecitatis ratio **ἔχοντα**.) *Cf.* Hom. K 187; Ξ 141; Eur. *Med.* 58; *I. A.* 491. See Classen, *Beobb. üb. d. hom. Sprachgebr.* p. 156. ff. Further on, when the subject changes, **ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη** takes acc. with inf., **Χαλκιδέας . . . μένειν καὶ . . . ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους**, in which the pron. **αὐτῶν** contains a reference to Aristeus and his troops. See App. — 11. **τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ**: Cl. explains 'stationed outside the Isthmus'; but it is rather *from beyond the Isthmus.* — **διακοσίαν ἵππον**: fem. collective = *cavalry; cf.* **ἵππος μυρίη**, Hdt. i. 27. 8; **ἀσπὶς . . . μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία**, Xen. *An.* i. 7. 10. — 13. **ἐπὶ σφᾶς**: *i.e.* against Aristeus and his army. Note **σφᾶς** used as a refl. of the 2d degree, referring to the principal subj., not that of its own clause (*cf.* c. 91. 14), while in the next line **αὐτῶν** is refl. of 1st degree, referring to Aristeus and the two divisions of his army. — 14. **ποιεῖν**: in pregnant sense, 'to bring into a position.' So **ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ**, c. 109. 16; v. 2. 13; vii. 5. 14.

Καλλίας: his advance from Gigonus (c. 61. 19) must have taken place meanwhile. — 15. **τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἱππέας**: the 600 of c. 61. 16. — 17. **τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν**: proleptic, as in c. 8. 9; 63. 8. — **ἐπιβοηθεῖν**: simple inf. after verb of *hindrance.* GMT. 95, 2 a; H. 963. — 18. **ἀναστήσαντες**: *cf.* iv. 90. 2; 93. 2; v. 58. 10. — 21. **ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί**: see on c. 50. 18. The impfs. here indicate the preparations for the decisive action. *Cf.* c. 46. 1; 48. 2. — 23. **ἔτρεψαν τό**: several Mss.

ψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολύ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον τῶν τε Ποτειδαιατῶν καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡσσᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ 63 τεῖχος κατέφυγεν. ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς 1 διώξεως, ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε μὲν ὁποτέρωσε διακινδυνεύσαι χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν· ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, καὶ παρῆλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μέν τινας ἀποβαλών, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύνθου 2 τοῖς Ποτειδαιάταις βοηθοὶ (ἀπεῖχε δὲ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστα

have *ἐτρέψαντο*, which might suggest the correction *ἐτρέψαντο τό*. But Thuc. uses the act. 30 times and the mid. only 6 times in this sense. — **24. ἐπὶ πολύ**: (of time, c. 6. 12; ii. 16. 1; 64. 26, and frequently) here of space, as ii. 75. 8; v. 73. 25; vi. 37. 18; 70. 12; viii. 10. 9. — **26. τὸ τεῖχος**: *i.e.* of Potidaea. This engagement near Potidaea, which acc. to ii. 2, 7 must be placed in Sept., 432, was the one in which Socrates saved the life of the young Alcibiades. *Cf.* Plat. *Symp.* 220 d, e.

63. *Aristeus forces his way through to Potidaea.*

2. ἡσσημένον: see on c. 30. 5. — **3. διακινδυνεύσαι**: the opt. of the Vat. Ms., instead of *διακινδυνεύσῃ* (Bekk., P., Kr., St.) or *-σει* (Sh.) of the other Mss., in deliberative sense, as in c. 25. 4. GMT. 71; H. 933. But c. 107. 25; ii. 52. 11; iii. 112. 22; v. 65. 21 show that the subjv. may be retained after a past tense. This verb generally = 'to risk a decisive battle,' here *to force one's way through*, as in iv. 29. 8; vii. 1. 7; 47. 11. *χωρήσας* is to be joined with *ὁποτέρωσε*. See App. — **4. δ' οὖν**: with P. for *γοῦν* of the Mss. See on c. 3. 19; 10. 33. — **5. ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον**: a prep. regularly stands after *ὅτι*, *ὡς* thus used with a sup. See on c. 35. 10. *Cf.* ii. 34. 24; iii. 46. 4; and for a similar use in Latin, see Madvig on Cic. *de Fin.* v. 9. 26. — **βιάσασθαι ἐς**: *cf.* vii. 69. 29. — **6. καὶ παρῆλθε**: this position of the verb indicates the instant carrying out of his decision; the aor. its successful result. — **χηλήν**: a far-projecting mole or quay for the protection of the harbour and harbour-wall. *Cf.* c. vii. 53. 5; viii. 90. 23. Schol. *χηλὴ καλεῖται οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν τείχους προβεβλημένοι λίθοι διὰ τὴν τῶν κυμάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιτο.* — **7. βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς**: combination of unlike elements in the same relation. *Cf.* c. 39. 2; 65. 2; 67. 2. Kr. *Spr.* 59, 2, 3. He may probably have been exposed to missiles from the Attic ships.

9. τοῖς Ποτειδαιάταις: constructed with the noun *βοηθοί*, as it would be with the verb *βοηθεῖν*. *Cf.* c. 73. 1.

σταδίους καὶ ἔστι καταφανές), ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη, βραχὺ μέν τι προῆλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἱππῆς ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὡς κωλύσοντες· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατεσπάσθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἱππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην 3
τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Ποτειδαιάταις· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδαιατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ
64 Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ [τεῖχος] εὐ- 1

Kühn. 424; Kr. *Spr.* 48, 12, 4. — **ἀπέχει**: *i.e.* Olynthus from Potidaea. The 'geographical impf.' (Bekk., Sh. have **ἀπέχει** with inferior Mss.), the local circumstances being referred to the time of the narrative. — **καὶ ἔστι καταφανές**: the change of tense and the position of the verb implies the result of personal observation: "and the fact is there is a clear sight all the way." For a similar omission of subj., *cf.* vi. 101. 15; vii. 84. 16. — 11. **τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη**: see on c. 49. 2. These signals were not for battle but for the movement of the distant troops; and as soon as it was seen that the purpose could not be accomplished, **κατεσπάσθη**. — 13. **διὰ τάχους**: *cf.* ii. 18. 17; 85. 15; iii. 18. 7; vii. 29. 8. — 14. **πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος**: this is alluded to in the following lines of the sepulchral inscription presently referred to: *ἐχθρῶν οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, οἱ [δὲ φυγόντες] τείχος πιστοτάτην ἐλπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίου]*. — 16. **παρεγένοντο**: *i.e.* took no part in the engagement just described.

17. **τοὺς νεκροὺς ... Ποτειδαιάτας**: this was an acknowledgment of defeat on the part of the Potidaeans. Those who thus recovered their dead were said *κομίζεσθαι τοὺς νεκρούς*, ii. 79. 29; 82. 4; iii. 7. 17. In ii. 22. 15, the words *ἀνείλοντο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀσπόνδους* show that the defeat was not decisive. — 20. **Ἀθηναίων αὐτῶν**: for some of the allies and the Macedonian horse (c. 62. 16) had not been engaged. The monument erected to the slain Athenians in the Ceramicus is still extant with the greater part of the inscription, and is now in the British Museum. See Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* 442; Hicks, *Inscr.* no. 42.

64. *The Athenians shut in Potidaea on all sides.*

1. **τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ**: the narrative is continued from c. 63. 18; and so **δέ** is used here, though we have a **δέ** in next line, which might seem to require a previous **μέν**. In this expression the prep. **ἐκ** is used to designate the north wall, which, to the Athenians regarding it from the north, would meet their eyes *from* the Isthmus, such being the Greek manner of

θὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες ἐφρούρουν· τὸ δ' ἐς
τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι
ἔν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες
τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Ποτειδαιᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμ-
μαχοι γενομένοις δίχα ἐπιθῶνται. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ 2
ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν,
χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας
ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου στρατηγόν· ὃς ἀφι-
κόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος
προσήγαγε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ τὸν στρατόν, κατὰ βραχὺ προϊὼν
καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν· ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῄει ἐς μάχην,
ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος· καὶ οὕτως ἤδη 3
κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτείδαια ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ

indicating observed positions. *Cf.* ii. 76. 13; iii. 51. 13. Kühn. 430, p. 398; Kr. *Spr.* 68, 17, 3. But the wall on the south side, from the same point of view, must for clearness be spoken of as in 2, **τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην**. On the other hand, the south wall as regarded by Athenians approaching from Aphytis is again correctly described, 13, as **τὸ ἐκ Παλλήνης**. On the bracketing of **τεῖχος**, see App. — 2. **ἀποτειχίσαντες**: as **ἀπολαμβάνειν** in c. 7. 4, implies the complete prevention of access. *Cf.* iii. 51. 13; 94. 12; iv. 130. 32; vi. 101. 9; 103. 6; vii. 4. 4. — 3. **ἀτείχιστον ἦν**: here = **οὐκ ἀπετετείχιστο**, as also in 5 **τειχίζειν** = **ἀποτειχίζειν**. See Herbst, *Schl. b. d. Argin.*, 8, note 11. — 4. **διαβάντες**: *i.e.* by ship; for the isthmus was completely closed by the town. *Cf.* iv. 120. 16. — 6. **γενομένοις δίχα**: this, though in only few Mss., is to be preferred to **γιγνομένοις**; for the meaning is that the Athenians feared an attack if they should have divided their forces, not at the moment of separation. For **γίγνεσθαι** with adv. phrase, see on c. 37. 13.

πυνθανόμενοι: impf. partic. (*cf.* iii. 18. 12; viii. 83. 1), of reports frequently arriving. *Cf.* c. 95. 10; 132. 21; ii. 57. 5. — 7. **τὴν Παλλήνην**: = **τὸ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην**.—9. **Φορμίωνα**: he took the command in place of Callias who had been killed, and distinguished himself highly in the first years of the war. See ii. 29. 30; 68; 80 ff. — 10. **Ἀφύτιος**: Ionic gen. in a proper name, as **Γοάξιος**, iv. 107. 11; **Κνίδιος**, v. 51. 8. Aphytis was on the east side of Pallene, on the gulf of Torone. **ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος**, *making his base at Aphytis.* — 11. **κατὰ βραχύ**: *cf.* c. 61. 18, **κατ' ὀλίγον**. — 12. **κείρων**: only here in Thuc. instead of **τέμνων**. Frequent in Hdt., as vi. 75. 20; vii. 131. 2; viii. 32. 13; 65. 3. — 14. **κατὰ κράτος**: applied to any energetic use of force, with **πολιορκεῖν**, **πολεμεῖν**, **αἱρεῖν**, **λαμβάνειν**. *Cf.* c. 118. 21; ii. 54. 14; iii. 18. 20; 103. 3; iv. 23. 10; 131. 4; v. 116. 10; vi. 91. 39; vii. 41. 1; viii. 1. 20; 64. 15; 70. 9.

65 ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις. Ἀριστεὺς δὲ 1
ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτη-
ρίας, ἢν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παρὰ λόγον
γίγνηται, ξυνεβούλευε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων ἀνεμον τη-
ρήσασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ σῖτος
ἀντίσχῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι· ὡς δ' οὐκ
ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν καὶ
ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἕξει ὡς ἄριστα, ἔκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν
τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκι- 2
δεῦσι τά τε ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλιῶν λοχήσας
πρὸς τῇ πόλει πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν, ἔς τε τὴν Πελοπόννη-
σον ἔπρασσεν ὅπῃ ὠφελία τις γενήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς 3
Ποτειδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἑξα-

65. *Aristeus secretly leaves Potidaea, in order to procure aid from without.*

2. **ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἔχων**: see on c. 63. 7, a similar coupling of unlike elements. *Cf.* also c. 67. 2; iv. 28. 2, 4; 29. § 1; 100. § 1; and for Latin examples see Nipperdey on Tac. *Ann.* iii. 11. 5. — 3. **ἄλλο**: *τι* must be repeated, *something else.* — **παρὰ λόγον**: since Thuc. often uses the subst. *ὁ παράλογος* (*cf.* c. 78. 3; ii. 61. 14; 85. 6; iii. 16. 10; vii. 28. 17; 55. 4; 61. 12; viii. 24. 29), and *παρὰ λόγον* is unquestionable in ii. 64. 8; iv. 26. 11; 55. 17; 65. 18; vi. 33. 31, it is probable that where some Mss. give a neut. adj. *παράλογον* (here, c. 140. 11; ii. 91. 15; vii. 71. 42), which is used by Arist., Polyb., Plut., *etc.*, we should write *παρὰ λόγον* divisim, corresponding to *κατὰ λόγον* in ii. 89. 25; iii. 39. 24. See Kr. on Dion. p. 267. — 4. **πλὴν πεντακοσίων**: belongs to *τοῖς ἄλλοις.* — 6. **ἀντίσχῃ**: *hold out, suffice,* in either good or bad sense. *Cf.* c. 7. 6; ii. 64. 26; vi. 69. 9; vii. 71. 26. On the mood, see on c. 58. 7. — **ἤθελε**: in pregnant meaning, *expressed his willingness.* *Cf.* c. 28. 6. — **τῶν μενόντων**: part. gen. with verb. *Cf.* viii. 76. 7. — 7. **τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις**: *what was expedient under these circumstances.* *Cf.* vi. 45. 3; vii. 62. 14. — **ὅπως . . . ἕξει**: also dependent on *παρασκευάζειν* in the sense of *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.* — 8. **τὰ ἔξωθεν**: proleptic, as c. 62. 17; vi. 25. 13. See on c. 8. 9.

10. **τὰ ἄλλα**: for this semi-adv. use see on c. 38. 6. Supply with the verb *τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι.* — **Σερμυλιῶν**: depends on *πολλούς,* but to be understood also with *πρὸς τῇ πόλει,* which belongs grammatically to *λοχήσας*: *having lain in wait near the city.* Sermylia was in the peninsula of Sithonia, acc. to Hdt. vii. 122. 9, between Galepsus and Mecyberna. — 11. **ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασσεν**: or with *πρός,* of secret negotiations. This notion is more fully expressed in c. 57. 8. *Cf.* c. 131. 7; 132. 21. — 12. **ὅπῃ**: *in what way.* After *πράσσειν* usually *ὅπως* is found. *Cf.* c. 56. 3; 57. 8; iii. 4. 21; 70. 6. But in iv. 128. 23 we have *ὅτῳ τρόπῳ,* and in v. 78. 5, *ὅστε.* — **τῆς Πο-**

κοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν ἐδῄου καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πολίσματα εἷλεν.

66 Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται προσεγεγένηντο ἐς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι τὴν Ποτείδαιαν ἑαυτῶν οὖσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν, τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτειδαιατῶν· οὐ μέντοι ὅ γε πόλεμός πω ξυνερρώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνοκωχὴ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπραξαν. 67 πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτειδαίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζον,

ταιδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν: for the order, *cf.* c. 32. 8. — 14. **Βοττικήν**: see on c. 57. 12. While Phormio with his force was seeking to subdue the places which had revolted, the main army of 3,000 men, c. 61. 15, continued the siege of Potidaea. Its further course and result (in the winter of 430–429) are told in ii. 58 and 70. For the cost of this long siege, see iii. 17. § 3.

66. *Review of the quarrel on account of Potidaea.*

1. **αἰτίαι**: as the following exposition shows, the pl. refers only to the affair of Potidaea in its two aspects, as affecting the Athenians and the Peloponnesians; and *προσεγεγένηντο* of the best Mss. is to be preferred to *προεγεγένηντο*, as this clause stands in close connexion with c. 55. § 2, where, after the narration of the affair of Corcyra, we read, *αἰτία αὕτη* (the sing., because one only relation is regarded) *πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*, to which this passage adds a second *αἰτία*. Ullrich, *Beitr. zur Krit.*, I. p. 27 ff. As Aristeus had brought other Peloponnesians with him (c. 60. 5; 62. 2) to the support of Potidaea, the hostile feeling extended itself beyond the Corinthians, who were first affected by it. This accounts for the mention of Πελοποννησίοις in 1; and the expression *αἰτίαι* has the general meaning of *ground of complaint* (in c. 146. 1, connected with *διαφοραί*), and without the addition of *τοῦ πολέμου*, as in c. 55. 13. So *αἰτίαι μέν* is opposed to *οὐ μέντοι κτέ.* in 8, *i.e.* to the actual outbreak of the war. — 7. **ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς**: see on c. 34. 10. — 8. **ξυνερρώγει**: from *ξυρρηγνύναι*, here only in Attic writers, but often used by Appian., Dio Cass., Plut. In viii. 96. 7, we have the related fut. *ξυρράξουσι* (*ῥάσσω*). — 9. **ἰδίᾳ**: *on their own account*, without the instigation of others. Here **ἔπραξαν** must be rendered as plpf.; *cf.* c. 128. 16, 17.

NEGOTIATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN THE LACEDAEMONIAN POPULAR ASSEMBLY. Chaps. 67–87.

67. *The Corinthians, in concert with other allies, go to Sparta with complaints against the Athenians.*

ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν ἐνόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σπονδάς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. Αἰγινῆταί τε φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δε- 2
διότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δέ, οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέ- 3
σαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἠδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν

2. ἀνδρων ... δεδιότες: see on c. 63. 7. — **3. τε**: inferential, see on c. 4. 5. — **τοὺς ξυμμάχους**: who belonged to the Peloponnesian alliance (Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Krit.* I. p. 29, explains the word of the Corinthian allies in the affairs of Corcyra and Potidaea). Though the formal summons to attend their diet belonged to the Lacedaemonians (c. 87. 11), friendly invitations to counsel could be made by other states (v. 30. 12). — **4. κατεβόων**: with gen. *Cf.* c. 115. 8; v. 45. 18. So the noun *καταβοή* in c. 73. 3. — **ἐλθόντες**: this word implies a zealous purpose, *they came and*. Similarly, c. 115. 8; ii. 72. 19; 79. 5; iii. 65. 5; iv. 61. 28; 92. 4; v. 32. 15; 81. 7; vi. 79. 16; viii. 67. 1. *Cf. ἰών* in Soph. *Aj.* 304. Kühn. 486, note 10. — **5. ἀδικοῖεν**: the constant use of *ἀδικεῖν* = *to be in the wrong* (GMT. 10, 1, N. 4; H. 827) makes this verb parallel in sense to *λελυκότες εἶεν*: "had put themselves in the wrong in regard to the Peloponnesians."

6. Αἰγινῆταί τε: since these did not belong to the *ξύμμαχοι*, but had been in dependence on Athens since Ol. 81, 1, B.C. 456 (c. 105; 108. § 4), *τε* is used, as in c. 2. 6; 33. 6, *and besides*. They ventured therefore only *πρεσβεύεσθαι κρύφα* (this is the established form in Thuc. for the more usual *κρυφῇ* or *κρυφῆ*. Kühn. 336, note 7). — **9. κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς**: this, like *παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς* in 16, probably refers to the thirty years' truce of B.C. 445, Ol. 83. 4, in which there may have been a general formula such as *ἐὰν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις*, as Kr. conjectures (*Stud.* I. p. 194). Some suppose that the general peace after the battle of Plataea is meant. *Cf.* ii. 72. § 1. Grote, V. c. 48, p. 342, thinks that the Aeginetans "may have taken advantage of both."

προσπαρακαλέσαντες κτέ.: refers to 3, *παρεκάλουν τοὺς ξυμμάχους* of the Corinthians. The Lacedaemonians also called upon any of the allies who had any other complaint to make to come forward: *τι ἄλλο*, *i.e.* beside those of the Corinthians and Aeginetans. See App. — **11. ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν τὸν ... εἰωθότα**: on the order, see on c. 1. 6: the Spartan popular assembly, which all Spartans of 30 years of age were entitled to attend (Schömann, *Ant. of Gr.* I. p. 234). *ποιεῖν*, *to summon*, not 'to hold'; *cf.* c. 139. 17; ii. 22. 4; 59. 11; iv. 114. 11;

εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευον. καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλή- 4
ματα ἐποιοῦντο ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, δηλοῦντες μὲν
καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἴρ-
γεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγο-
ρᾶς παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι οἱ 5
Κορίνθιοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσαντες πρῶτον παροξῦναι
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεῖπον τοιάδε·

68 "Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς 1
αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλ-

vi. 8. 5; 72. 3; viii. 76. 4. — 12. **λέγειν ἐκέλευον**: addressed to all those present.

παριόντες — ἐποιοῦντο: impf. of the succession of complainants; 16, *παρελθόντες — ἐπεῖπον* of the Corinthians alone. **παριέναι** is the constant expression for appearing before an assembly. *Cf.* c. 72. 4, 15; 73. 4; 79. 7; 85. 13, *etc.* — 13. **ὡς ἕκαστοι**: *one by one. Cf.* c. 3. 19; 48. 11. — 14. **διάφορα**: see on c. 56. 2. — **λιμένων τε εἴργεσθαι**: the first mention of the *ψήφισμα περὶ Μεγαρέων* (c. 139. 6; 144. 7), which was perhaps adopted at the same time with the resolution against Potidaea. Ullrich, *Das Megarische Psephisma*, p. 34 ff. — 16. **παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς**: this Pericles expressly denies, c. 144. 10.

17. **καὶ ἐάσαντες κτέ.**: to be connected with *τελευταῖοι*. Both expressions are predicative to *παρελθόντες*, the later of the two circumstances being placed first. *Cf.* c. 37. 10; 70. 25. — 18. **ἐπεῖπον**: *i.e.* they made the following speech in confirmation of what was urged by the other allies.

SPEECH OF THE CORINTHIAN ENVOYS IN THE SPARTAN ASSEMBLY. Chaps. 68–71.

68. *You have too long disregarded our warnings as to the hostile purposes of the Athenians. They can now be seen clearly manifested in their dealings with Corcyra and Potidaea.*

1. **τὸ πιστόν**: (see on c. 36. 3, for use of neut. adj. as abstract noun) a contrast is evidently intended between this and **ἀπιστοτέρους**, though the meaning is not quite the same: *τὸ πιστόν*, meaning *honesty, integrity*, which can be trusted (pass.), and **ἀπιστοτέρους**, implying incredulity (act.). — **ὑμᾶς**: note the emphasis of the position. *Cf.* c. 70. 5; and of other prons., v. 82. 23; vii. 78. 26. — 2. **πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας**: *behaviour in public life and in social intercourse.* — **ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἤν τι λέγωμεν**: in this punctuation Cl. now follows P. and St. 'if we bring any complaint against others.' For *λέγειν ἐς* in this sense (usually 'to speak before'), *cf.* vi. 41. 4; Hdt. i. 86. 30; and for the position of the conj., *cf.* c. 19. 3; 120. 9. But it seems better, chiefly on account of the generic art., with most editors to connect *ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους* with **ἀπιστοτέρους**. The meaning will then be, either *indisposed to believe anything against* (see on c. 38. 1) *others* (here, the Athenians) *if we say anything to their discredit*; or (*τοὺς ἄλλους* = *ἡμᾶς*) 'distrustful of us the rest, if we allege

λους, ἤν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμαθίᾳ δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμέλλομεν 2 ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἑκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε, ὡς ἕνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσι· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέσατε, ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν, ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἠδίκουν τὴν 3 Ἑλλάδα, διδασκαλίας ἂν ὡς οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει· νῦν δὲ

any complaint.'—3. **καθίστησι**: with an adj. = an emphatic *τιθέναι, renders. Cf.* ii. 42. 4; iii. 46. 3; viii. 66. 25. — **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**: refers to the whole preceding description, as in 9. See on c. 2. 11.—**σωφροσύνην**: *sobriety, moderation*, leaning here rather to the side of indifference, which in ii. 40. 7 is described as **ἄπραγμον** and **ἀχρεῖον**.—4. **πλέονι**: = *μείζονι, i.e.* than it would be under different circumstances.

5. **προαγορευόντων**: partic. impf.: here, *announced beforehand;* elsewhere, 'proclaim aloud'; see on c. 29. 3.—7. **μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε**: "you would not take knowledge of what we were trying to show you." See on c. 6. 3.—**τῶν λεγόντων . . . λέγουσι**: the const. is similar to vii. 73. 2, *ὑπονοήσας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν*, except that here a sentence, *ὡς . . . λέγουσι*, stands in place of the subst. *Cf.* Xen. *Cyr.* v. 2. 18, *ἐνενόησεν αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπηρώτων ἀλλήλους*. See on c. 52. 10. "Against the speakers, rather, you directed your suspicion that they were influenced by self-interest."—8. **ἕνεκα**: see App.—**διαφόρων**: here, *interests* (from the act. **διαφέρειν**), as *μέτεστι πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον*, ii. 37. 5; iv. 86. 23; v. 115. 8; elsewhere, 'points in dispute' (from the mid. **διαφέρεσθαι**), as in c. 56. 2; 67. 14; 78. 12; ii. 27. 9; iv. 79. 10; v. 45. 2.—9. **οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν**: see on c. 39. 5.—**ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ**: = *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάσχειν*, but also having reference to the common use of *ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ* of action in war: *when we are actually engaged.*—10. **ἐν οἷς**: Cl. connects with the sup. *οὐχ ἥκιστα*, 'among whom we have the best right to speak'; and compares c. 6. 6, *ἐν τοῖς*. But it is better with P. and Kr. to interpret *before whom*, as c. 85. 15, *ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*.—11. **ὅσῳ**: 'in what degree,' *in so far as;* without a comp., also in ii. 47. 14; iii. 45. 27; v. 90. 6; 108. 3; vi. 78. 5; viii. 84. 3.—12. **ὑβριζόμενοι, ἀμελούμενοι**: partics. impf., including a considerable time up to the present.

14. **ὡς οὐκ εἰδόσι**: *sc.* **ὑμῖν**, depending on *προσέδει*, "you would need additional information on the ground of your ignorance."—**νῦν δέ**: *i.e. ἐν φανερῷ οὔσης τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν.*—

τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁρᾶτε, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις, καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε πολεμήσονται; οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρκυράν τε ὑπολαβόντες βίᾳ ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἐπολιόρκουν· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις. 4

69 "Καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, τό τε πρῶτον ἐάσαντες 1 αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στῆσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε ἀεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ

15. **μακρηγορεῖν**: *cf.* ii. 36. 14; iv. 59. 6, in both places with *ἐν εἰδόσιν*, which has here been anticipated. We must supply *ἡμᾶς* as subj., extended now to include the other allies, and serving as the antecedent of *ὧν*. When the rel. is thus used rhetorically to introduce important aspects of the case, a certain freedom of const. is common. *Cf.* c. 74. 11; vi. 68. 2, *πολλῇ παραινέσει τί δεῖ χρῆσθαι, οἳ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα;* So, often in poets: Soph. *O. C.* 263, 427; *Aj.* 457; Ar. *Nub.* 1226, 1377; *Ran.* 1058. — **τοὺς μέν**: *e.g.* the Aeginetans. — 16. **τοῖς δέ**: *e.g.* the Megarians. — **τοῖς . . . ξυμμάχοις**: *i.e.* the Potidaeans, as special dependants of the Corinthians. — 17. **προπαρεσκευασμένους**: in the second member of the rel. clause *ὁρᾶτε* has taken a new obj., *αὐτούς*, with an act. partic.; to this obj. a third partic. member is here attached which has no longer any connexion with the rel. *ὧν*; "and you see that they have long ago prepared themselves, in case they shall by and by be involved in war." — 18. **πολεμήσονται**: fut. mid. as pass. *Cf.* viii. 43. 13. G. 199, N. 4; H. 496. Here the apod. is merely implied. See on c. 58. 2. — **οὐ γὰρ ἄν**: "for otherwise (see on c. 11. 5) they would not have so openly resorted to violent measures at Corcyra and Potidaea." *Cf.* Eur. *I. T.* 666. — **ὑπολαβόντες**: of crafty appropriation at the expense of another. *Cf.* c. 121. 9; 143. 3; vi. 58. 7; viii. 105. 15. — 19. **βίᾳ ἡμῶν**: see on c. 43. 8. — **εἶχον**: after the aor. partic., as c. 29. 23; 30. 4; 38. 15. — 20. **τὸ μέν . . . ἡ δέ**: chiasmus: *τὸ μέν* (Potidaea) conformed in gender to the pred. *χωρίον*. — **ἀποχρῆσθαι**: *to make use of*. *Cf.* vi. 17. 5; vii. 42. 27. The inf. is epexegetic of *ἐπικαιρότατον*, "excellently situated for profitable use of it (*sc.* *τῷ χωρίῳ*) in relation to the Thracian coast." — 21. **τοῖς**: before **Πελοποννησίοις** is from the Vat. Ms.

69. § 1–6. *You have yourselves encouraged their encroachments by looking quietly on as they increased their power, and you will have to bear the consequences.*

2. **τὴν πόλιν . . . κρατῦναι**: see c. 90–93. *κρατῦναι*, a poetic word; act., iii. 18. 7; mid., iii. 82. 40; iv. 52. 13; 114. 10. In tragedy = *κρατεῖν*. — 3. **τὰ μακρὰ τείχη**: see c. 107. § 1. — **στῆ-**

μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιορῶν δὲ ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται. μόλις δὲ νῦν γε 2 ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅ τι ἀμυνούμεθα· οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες, βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη,

σαι: *to raise*; probably only here of *walls*; but with *στήλας*, v. 18. 54; 23. 22; and often with *τροπαῖον*, c. 30. 2; 54. 3; 105. 30; ii. 22. 16. — **ἐς τόδε τε**: the postscript *τε* connects an important *third* particular. *Cf.* c. 2. 6; 50. 4; 56. 8. **ἐς τόδε** = *μέχρι τοῦδε* (Schol.) is rare. *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 10. 17, *ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε*; and *ἐς τοῦτο*, v. 26. 6. — **ἀποστεροῦντες**: expresses not so much the act of depriving, as the continued withholding of what is due. See on c. 40. 7. — 4. **τοὺς . . . δεδουλωμένους**: an invidious expression for the Attic *ξύμμαχοι*, to which is opposed *τοὺς ὑμετέρους ξυμμάχους* with the emphasizing *ἤδη, now even*. — 7. **αὐτὸ δρᾷ**: *i.e.* *δουλοῦται*. See on c. 5. 11. — **τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς**: *reputation for magnanimity*. **ἀρετή**, particularly of generous dealing with the weak. *Cf.* c. 37. 21; iii. 58. 2; iv. 19. 12. See Introd. p. 36. — 8. **ὡς ἐλευθερῶν κτέ.**: this claim of Sparta often occurs. See ii. 8. 15; 71. § 2; iii. 32. 5; 59. 30; 63. 16; iv. 108. 12. *φέρεσθαι*, properly of bearing off a prize; and so *to gain, enjoy*. *Cf.* ii. 11. 36.

νῦν γε: so Stephanus for *νῦν τε* of the Mss., rightly adopted by the recent editors (not by Sh., who renders 'now too'). — 9. **ἐπὶ φανεροῖς**: *ἐπί* with dat. of conditioning circumstances, as c. 13. 4; 65. 7; 70. 10; iv. 22. 13; *upon a basis of openly expressed purpose*, from which alone a sure decision can be reached. — **χρῆν γὰρ κτέ.**: "by this time we ought to have been considering not whether we are wronged but how we are to be revenged." J. On the formation of *χρῆν* = *χρὴ ἦν*, Kühn. 298, 6. For *καθ' ὅ τι*, *how*, *cf.* vi. 8. 16; and see on c. 35. 16. — 11. **οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες . . . ἐπέρχονται**: Cl., considering that we need in this clause a special designation of the Athenians, renders *οἱ γάρ*, *for they* (*cf.* vi. 36. 6), though this use of the art. for dem. pron. with *γάρ* is extremely doubtful in prose (Kühn. 458, 3; 459; Kr. *Dial.* 50, 1, 2). It seems better to regard this as a general proposition of which the application to the Athenians is found in 12, *καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα κτέ.* The previous clause *χρῆν γὰρ . . . ἀμυνούμεθα* implies the dilatory, indecisive behaviour of the Lacedaemonians; and it is proper that this should be contrasted first with the resolute practice of energetic natures in general, and then with actual policy of the Athenians. The commas, therefore, are to be removed and *ἤδη* to be connected with *οὐ μέλλοντες*. "For men who act (men of energy and action, actuosi), with plans fully formed, advance at once and without hesitation against men who have not yet made up their minds." This does not necessarily imply *impetuous* action;

καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷᾳ ὁδῷ οἱ 3
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας,
καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν
ἧσσον θαρσοῦσι, γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορᾶν ἰσχυρῶς
ἐγκείσονται. ἡσυχάζετε μὲν γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὦ Λακε- 4
δαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνό-
μενοι, καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφα- 5
λεῖς εἶναι, ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. τόν τε
γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ

and therefore the words involve nothing inconsistent with the slow and steady aggression attributed to the Athenians. See App.

12. **καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα κτέ.**: observe that a verb (*ἐπεξέρχονται* or *χωροῦσι*) must be supplied for *οἷᾳ ὁδῷ*, unless, with Cobet, *καὶ ὅτι* is bracketed. For *ὅτι* can hardly be taken as = *καθ' ὅ τι* of 10. — **κατ' ὀλίγον**: *by little and little. Cf.* c. 61. 18. — **τοὺς πέλας**: see on c. 32. 3. — **14. καὶ λανθάνειν . . . θαρσοῦσι**: *while they think themselves unobserved merely because your perceptions are dull, they are not so wholly (ἧσσον) free from fear.* On *τὸ ἀναίσθητον*, see on c. 36. 3. *Cf.* c. 82. 1; vi. 86. 17. — **15. γνόντες δὲ . . . ἐγκείσονται**: *but when they have come to the conclusion that you know their doings and yet do not interfere, they will press on with vigour. ἐγκεῖσθαι* often of actual fighting. *Cf.* c. 49. 29; ii. 79. 24; iii. 98. 6; iv. 22. 5; v. 73. 17; viii. 85. 18.

17. **οὐ τῇ δυνάμει . . . ἀμυνόμενοι**: *defending yourselves not by using your power but by looking as if you were going to use it.* For the sing. *τινα*, *cf.* c. 95. 16; 141. 29; ii. 37. 2; iii. 46. 20; iv. 85. 19. — **19. διπλασιουμένην**: the usual form of the verb is *διπλασιάζειν*. Some concrete notion like *δύναμιν* must be supplied as obj. from *αὔξησιν*. · **καίτοι**: *and yet*, introduces an objection adduced by the speaker to his own disparaging account. "If you were disinclined to move, at least people said you were secure against dangers from without." Kr.'s interpretation 'cautious' is not justified by the usage of Thuc. — 20. **ὧν**: refers to the antecedent *ὑμεῖς* implied in *ἐλέγεσθε* (*cf.* c. 68. 15), and has an adversative meaning, as in c. 35. 15. *ὧν* is objective gen. to *λόγος* in the sense of *repute. Cf.* ii. 42. 7; Eur. *El.* 937, *τἀνδρὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν λόγος*; *I. T.* 517; Plat. *Apol.* 26 b. — **ἄρα**: chiefly with the impf. (*cf.* c. 35. 20) emphasizes the revelation of a fact not before realized: "but it turns out that your reputation was greater than the facts warranted." Kr. *Spr.* 53, 2, 6; Kühn. 509, 4. — **21. ἴσμεν . . . ἐλθόντα**: Thuc. never uses *εἰδέναι* with the inf., but with either *ὅτι*, *ὡς*, or a partic. *Cf.* c. 76. 5; 122. 14; 127. 3; 140. 3; ii. 40. 22, *etc.* GMT. 73, 2; H. 982. — **ἐκ περάτων γῆς**: proverbial. *Cf.* Alcae. *frg.* 8; Xen. *Ages.* 9. 4. Often imitated by later writers. — **πρότερον ἢ**: like *πρίν* with inf., ii.

τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἑκάς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιορᾶτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν
25 *αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπιόντας καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῷ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστῆναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὑτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν*
30 *τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένους· ἐπεὶ αἵ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες ἤδη τινάς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρᾳ τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτίᾳ νομίσῃ* 6
τάδε λέγεσθαι· αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστιν ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.

40. 11; vi. 58. 3; viii. 45. 29; **ὕστερον ἤ**, vi. 4. 12. Sturm, ΠΡΙΝ, p. 97. — **ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον**: even to the confines of Peloponnesus, in hostile sense.

22. **τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν**: *your defensive forces. Cf.* vi. 22. 14; 46. 9. — **ἀξίως**: *sc.* **τῆς ὑμετέρας δυνάμεως**. — **προαπαντῆσαι**: *went forth to withstand him. Cf.* iv. 92. 28. — 23. **ἐκεῖνον**: assimilated to **τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**. Kr. *Spr.* 62, 4, 3; Kühn. 581, 3. *Cf.* v. 99. 4; vi. 68. 9; Dem. iv. 21. — 24. **ἐγγὺς ὄντας**: not to be construed with **περιορᾶτε**, which is here used without a partic., as in 6, but pred. to **τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**, although they are not far off but *close at hand.* — **ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν**: *cf.* vii. 75. 40. — **ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοί**: ultro adoriri, with reference to the following **ἐπιόντας**. — 25. **ἐς τύχας καταστῆναι**: used specially of the uncertainties of war. *Cf.* c. 78. 5; vi. 11. 22. — 26. **ἐπιστάμενοι**: *though you know.* — 27. **αὐτὸν περὶ αὑτῷ**: *by his own fault. Cf.* vi. 33. 29; Hdt. ix. 101. 13, **μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς**. "Propr. circa se tanquam scopulum, *i.e.* sua culpa." P. — **τὰ πλείω**: see on c. 13. 17. — 28. **ἡμᾶς**: not the Corinthians alone, but the other allies also who depended on Sparta. — 30. **περιγεγενημένους**: see on c. 55. 11. — **αἱ ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες**: *the hopes which rested on you.* See on c. 33. 18. — 31. **ἤδη τινὰς . . . ἔφθειραν**: *have already ruined some, who remained unprepared just because they trusted you;* alluding perhaps to the Thasians, c. 101, and the Euboeans, c. 114. The aor. is empiric, drawing a general inference from special occurrences. GMT. 30, 1; H. 840; Kühn. 386, 7. For **ἤδη**, *cf.* c. 120. 6; ii. 77. 15; iv. 62. 13; vi. 86. 14; vii. 77. 2, 16.

32. **τὸ πλέον ἤ**: after a neg. See on c. 9. 21. — **ἐπ' ἔχθρᾳ . . . αἰτίᾳ**: see on c. 37. 8. Here, as there, **ἐπί** indicates the end; but the two nouns do not exactly correspond, **ἔχθρα** referring to a sentiment, and **αἰτία**, *expostulation*, to an action: "not to lay bare our hostile feelings, but to make a well-grounded complaint." Accordingly in the following explanation, in which **αἰτία** stands

70 "Καὶ ἅμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, ἄξιοι νομίζομεν 1
εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγά-
λων τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστώτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθά-
νεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς
5 οἵους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν
διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. οἱ μέν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ 2
ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς

first chiastically, instead of an elucidation of ἔχθρα we have κατηγορία, the real opposite of αἰτία. The genitives φίλων ἀνδρῶν and ἐχθρῶν are objective. The course of thought is this: our reproaches are not κατηγορία but αἰτία, for we regard you as φίλοι ἁμαρτάνοντες, not as ἐχθροὶ ἀδικήσαντες.

70. *The Athenians, by their activity and decision, have great advantage over you with your sluggish and dilatory policy.*

1. **καὶ ἅμα κτέ.**: "besides the good intentions of which we are conscious, we have as good a right as any to find fault with you." What follows, however, relates rather to the character of the Lacedaemonians than to the justification of the Corinthians. — **εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι**: *cf.* c. 142. 24; iv. 55. 12; Hdt. ix. 27. 26; Plat. *Phaed.* 58 e; 63 c; 67 b; Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 3. 42. On the καί in such formulae, see Kühn. 524, 2, 3; Kr. *Spr.* 69, 32, 13. — 2. **τοῖς πέλας**: see on c. 32. 16; here specially of the Lacedaemonians. — 3. **τῶν διαφερόντων**: *the points of difference, i.e.* between you and the Athenians, to be presently stated; so ii. 43. 27. But P. and Kr. interpret, 'the interests at stake,' as in vi. 92. 23, like τὰ διάφορα in c. 68. 8. The former sense is confirmed by 4, πρὸς οἵους . . . ἔσται. Bonitz, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thukydides*, p. 7. — **αἰσθάνεσθαι — ἐκλογίσασθαι**: have for obj. the following dependent interr. clause πρὸς οἵους κτέ. The use of πώποτε shows that ἐκλογίσασθαι represents a real past tense, *to have calculated.* — 4. **πρὸς οἵους καὶ ὅσον διαφέροντας**: *i.e.* οἵοι καὶ ὅσον . . . διαφέροντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοί εἰσιν, πρὸς οὓς ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. *Cf.* c. 73. 18. For examples of similar blending of a question and a dependent sentence, see Kühn. 587, 6. — 5. **ὑμῖν**: depends on ἔσται. On its emphatic position, see on c. 68. 1. — **ὅσον καὶ ὡς πᾶν**: *how far, I should say how utterly.* Sh.

6. **οἱ μέν γε**: see on c. 40. 15. The opposition is thus strongly marked. — **νεωτεροποιοί**: the adj. only here in Thuc.; the abstract noun in c. 102. 11. — 7. **ἐπινοῆσαι κτέ.**: in the following delineation, 10 aor. infs. alternate with 7 pres. infs. (aor. ἐπινοῆσαι, ἐπιτελέσαι, ἐπιγνῶναι, ἐξικέσθαι, πρᾶξαι, πιστεῦσαι, ἐπελθεῖν, βλάψαι, τυχεῖν πράξαντες, πρᾶξαι; pres., σῴζειν, οἴεσθαι, κτᾶσθαι, πράσσειν, τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι, κτᾶσθαι, ἡγεῖσθαι). The latter designate enduring conditions or continued activities; the former, activities with a definite direction or ends attained. It will be observed, too, how the inf. with a neg. (or with a neg. notion, as ἐνδεᾶ, 12, ὀλίγα, 22) is regularly in the aor. (complexive), unless resistance or refusal is implied, as in 13 ("you refuse to believe that you will ever"). — **ἐπινοῆσαι**: *to form plans. Cf.* 21;

δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σῴζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ 3
δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἴεσθαι ἀπολυθήσεσθαι· καὶ 4
μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλητὰς καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἄν τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα ἂν βλάψαι.

ii. 11. 11; v. 13. 7; Ar. *Eccl.* 247. — **ὀξεῖς**: *quick*, defined by the dependent infs. But as applied to the Lacedaemonians, it must be taken ironically, or by zeugma implying the general sense *ὑμεῖς οἷοί ἐστε*. — **ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν**: *whatever they have decided*. So usually in aor. See App. — 8. **ἐπιγνῶναι**: *to adopt further measures*. *Cf.* ii. 65. 48; iii. 57. 6. In c. 132. 35 it means 'find out.' — 9. **οὐδέ**: the two preceding clauses (*σῴζειν* and *ἐπιγνῶναι*, connected by *τε καί*) give the positive and neg. sides of the Laconian conservatism, and are in the same const. as *ἐπινοῆσαι*; but the neg. *οὐδέ* shows that this last clause is conceived independently of the former, as if Thuc. had said *οὐ μέντοι ὀξεῖς ἐστε οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι*. This last verb is usually intr., as in Pl. *Prot.* 311 d; Xen. *Mem.* i. 4. 17; ii. 3. 19, but is here, *carry out, attain*. So in 21, *ἐξελθεῖν* has a neut. pl. obj. *Cf.* iii. 108. 9; Soph. *Tr.* 506, *ἐξῆλθον ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων*.

αὖθις: *further*, implying here not repetition, but advance. *Cf.* iii. 106. 8; vi. 90. 5. — 10. **τολμηταί . . . κινδυνευταί**: Thuc. seems to have coined several verbal substs. of this form: *μελλητής, ἀποδημητής*, 14; *εἰκαστής*, c. 138. 15; *διαλλακτής*, iv. 60. 4, — all expressing *bent, habituation* to a course, like Latin nouns in -tor. Here *παρὰ δύναμιν* (beyond the measure of one's strength, implying rashness) and *παρὰ γνώμην* (beyond the limits which prudence would set, implying recklessness) are opposed to the clauses which state the defects of the Lacedaemonians, *τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι* and *τῆς γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι*. — **ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς**: *in the face of dangers*, propositis periculis. *Cf.* c. 143. 8; v. 90. 6; vi. 20. 3; Dem. iv. 20, *ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε*.

13. **καὶ μὴν καί**: introducing forcibly a further statement, iam vero. *Cf.* c. 142. 1, *καὶ μὴν οὐδέ*. — 14. **ἄοκνοι**: not here 'indefatigable in endurance,' but *resolute for action*, as in c. 74. 5. — 15. **τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ**: *by their absence from home*. — **ἄν τι κτᾶσθαι**: the pres. inf. with the pregnant *τι*, as in 29, *ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι*, implies a never-satisfied eagerness to press forward; while *τὰ ἑτοῖμα*, 16, a strengthened *ὑπάρχοντα*, means possessions lying ready for use, the loss of which is feared. *Cf.* iv. 61. 2; vi. 9. 16. — 16. **ἐπελθεῖν**: whether abs. or with a dat. has in Thuc. so generally the meaning of hostile advance (*cf.* c. 2. 8; 18. 18; 62. 10; 69. 12, 24; 123. 14; 124. 18; ii. 36. 14; 39. 12; 89. 22; iii. 84. 7, *etc.*) that it expresses the aggressive spirit,

κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέρχονται καὶ 5
νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν 6
σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ
20 γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. καὶ 7
ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπωφήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι
ἡγοῦνται, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ
μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες, ἢν δ' ἄρα καί του πείρᾳ

which the Lacedaemonians are said to dread, more distinctly than *ἐξελθεῖν*, proposed by Ullrich and approved by St. (Jahrb. 1863, p. 413). In 22, *ἐπελθόντες* is used of the Athenians in the same sense of agression. — 17. **κρατοῦντές τε**: from this point, when the inferential *τε* marks the passage from the general to its application in particulars, the delineation confines itself to the Athenians, and is calculated to make a lively impression on the Lacedaemonians. — 18. **ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν**: clearly opp. to *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέρχονται* (*they pursue their victory to the furthest extent, cf.* Plat. *Prot.* 361 c) and to be taken in the pass. sense of *πίπτειν* = *βάλλεσθαι, they allow themselves to be forced back, they fall back, the least. Cf.* Bonitz, *ibid.* p. 8 ff. — **ἔτι δέ**: this bravery, always pressing forward, never frightened back, does not merely lead the Athenians to ever-new results; still more effective is the clear consciousness with which they put all powers of body and mind at the service of their country. — 19. **τῇ γνώμῃ**: the mind and all its powers, opp. to *σώματα. Cf.* ii. 38. 2, "A somewhat forced antithesis between *ἀλλοτριωτάτοις* and *οἰκειοτάτῃ* is the veil of a noble sentiment. Their bodies they throw away, as freely as though they did not belong to them, in the service of their country; their minds they jealously preserve as the thing dearest to them, that they may use them on her behalf." Jowett.

20. **καί...μέν...δέ...δέ**: this unlimited devotion of the Athenians exhibits itself in three aspects, as regards (1) aims not completely carried out (*ἃ μὲν ἂν ... ἡγοῦνται*); (2) aims perfectly attained (*ἃ δ' ἂν ... πράξαντες*); (3) aims which have not succeeded (*ἢν δ' ἄρα ... τὴν χρείαν*). There must not therefore be a full point before *ἢν δ' ἄρα*. See St. Jahrb. 1863, p. 473–4. — 21. **ἐξέλθωσιν**: (so the best Mss. for *ἐπεξέλθωσιν*) here and iii. 108. 9 with a neut. obj. of undefined extent (*ἃ — ἄν, τὸ πολύ*) has a trans. meaning, *bring to an issue.* See on 9. — **οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται**: the acc. with *στέρεσθαι* does not occur elsewhere, but may be tolerated as inner obj. from a neut. adj. See on c. 32. 4. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 13, 10. *στέρεσθαι* seems to be = *ἐστερῆσθαι*, but "verbs of privation connote feeling." Gildersleeve on Pind. *Py.* VII. 22. "In failing to attain an object, they consider that they have lost what was really their own." — 22. **ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα**: *cf.* c. 6. 15; 10. 8, 33; "only little in comparison with what remains to be done." So *τυχεῖν πράξαντες* instead of *πρᾶξαι* (GMT. 24, N. 1; H. 984) points to the unsatisfying character of the result: "that they have indeed succeeded this time." — 23. **ἢν δ' ἄρα**: *and if after*

σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν·
25 μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσι. καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' 8
ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι, καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν
30 ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι, ξυμφοράν τε οὐχ ἧσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον· ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε 9
αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.

71 "Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως, 1

all it turn out that. — **του**: belongs to *σφαλῶσιν* rather than to *πείρᾳ*. *Cf.* ii. 43. 12. The best Mss. have *καί του* and not *του καί*. For the force of *καί*, see on c. 15. 7. — 24. **ἀντελπίσαντες**: occurs here only, *forming new hopes in compensation for failure.* — **ἐπλήρωσαν**: empiric aor. See on c. 69. 3. — **χρείαν**: *want, lack. Cf.* iii. 59. 9. — 25. **ἔχουσι . . . καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν**: an inversion of the natural order for greater effectiveness; "possession and hope in this case coincide." — **ὁμοίως**: see on c. 58. 7. — 26. **ἄν**: the gen. assimilated to the obj. of *ἐπιχείρησιν*. *Cf.* vii. 43. 12.

27. **μετὰ πόνων**: *with, i.e.* not without, *constant toil.* — 28. **αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι**: *αἰών* (in Thuc. here only) and *μοχθεῖν* (once more in ii. 39. 23), unusual expressions chosen to enforce the close of the delineation. — 29. **μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι**: the hyperbole usual in proverbial expressions, *the only thing they deem a festival. Cf.* iii. 30. 12; vii. 77. 25. The Schol. makes this an allusion to the refusal of the Spartans to set forth during festivals. — 31. **οὐχ ἧσσον . . . ἤ**: this combination emphasizes the former member so much that the latter is often practically denied. *Cf.* *οὐ τοσοῦτον — ὅσον*, and *οὐ μᾶλλον (τὸ πλεῖον) ἤ*. See on c. 9. 2, 21. Here it is represented that *ἀσχολία ἐπίπονος* is certainly not regarded by the Athenians as a misfortune, while *ἡσυχία ἀπράγμων* is so regarded.

32. **ἐπὶ τῷ . . . ἐᾶν**: the infs. with *ἐπὶ τῷ* after *πεφυκέναι* represent the constant object of their whole existence. The inf. alone would indicate only adaptation in the special case, as in ii. 64. 17; iii. 45. 8; iv. 61. 20. — 33. **ἐᾶν**: with this *ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν* must be supplied, as must a corresponding partic. with *ὁρᾶν*, c. 78. 10; 80. 2.

71. *You have now an excellent opportunity for changing your policy. Nothing short of an invasion of Attica will help us and keep us in your alliance.*

1. **ταύτης τοιαύτης πόλεως**: *although this state with such characteristics stands facing you.* It is better to make *ταύτης*, with appos. *τοιαύτης πόλεως* (*sc.* *οὔσης*) subj. of *ἀντικαθεστηκυίας*, than, with Kr. and B., to make *ταύτης* alone

ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν, οἷ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὦσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε. μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικοῦντες 2 ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ', ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιότροπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτούς ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὥσπερ τέχνης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν· 3

the subj., and τοιαύτης πόλεως pred. with the partic. The elaborate delineation of the last chap. requires to be resumed here with something more than the simple ταύτης. *Cf.* ii. 60. 16, ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρί. But in c. 74. 1, τοιούτου ξυμβάντος τούτου, τούτου alone is the subj. — 2. **διαμέλλετε**: *you persist in your dilatory course. Cf.* c. 142. 3; iv. 27. 22; vi. 25. 3; 49. 18, *etc.* — 3. **ἀρκεῖν**: from the meaning 'suffice' comes naturally that of *hold out, last.* — **οἷ ἂν κτέ.**: the condition under which quiet behaviour can maintain adequate security for a considerable time is expressed in the first member by a description of the persons in question, "who, in the use they make of their own warlike preparation, do only what is just, but show also a decided purpose not to submit to wrong." The neg. μή is used because in a generic rel. sentence. Kr. *Spr.* 67, 9. For ἐπιτρέπειν, *cf.* c. 82. 4; 95. 5; ii. 72. 20; vi. 40. 9; viii. 27. 6. — 5. **ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κτέ.**: in these words the sentence is continued as if the former portion had begun with οὐκ οἴεσθε τούτοις (instead of οἴεσθε οὐ τούτοις). The sense is: "but on the principle of doing no offence to others, and of receiving no damage yourselves in being compelled to resist injuries, you maintain what you consider to be an impartial attitude"; whereas this is really a course which is wholly in favour of the aggressive Athenians. But Cl. explains τὸ ἴσον νέμειν 'attach equal importance,' comparing iii. 3. 6; 48. 2; vi. 88. 10; Plat. *Prot.* 337 a; in which passages, however, the phrase is followed by the dat. and not by ἐπί with dat. Others explain, 'you form your notions of right,' 'your conception of political justice is founded'; but Cl. rightly objects that no instances can be quoted of the words used in this sense.

7. **μόλις δ' ἂν κτέ.**: *but you could hardly carry out such a policy successfully, if you had a city just like yourselves for your neighbour.* — 8. **νῦν δέ**: introduces the real state of the case, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ πόλει παροικεῖτε. — 9. **ἀρχαιότροπα**: *old-fashioned;* not elsewhere in Attic. — **ἐπιτηδεύματα**: see on c. 32. 10. — **πρός**: see on c. 6. 15. πρὸς αὐτούς = πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν, comparatio compendiaria. *Cf.* 14; c. 77. 24; 143. 14; Hom. P 51, κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι. Kühn. 543, 3; Kr. *Spr.* 48, 13, 9.

10. **τέχνης**: not 'art' in the higher sense, but any competence resting on exercise and experience; especially in matters of war and seamanship. *Cf.* c.

καὶ ἡσυχαζούσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις ἰέναι πολλῆς καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται.

"Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής· 4 νῦν δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτειδαιάταις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθίστοις προῆσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμίᾳ πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε. δρῷμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε 5 πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὁρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. λύουσι γὰρ σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσι. βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενοῦμεν· οὔτε γὰρ 6 ὅσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν

49. 6; 142. 24; 87. 19; vii. 36. 22; 70. 21; of medicine, ii. 47. 15. Elsewhere of artifice, v. 8. 8; 18. 16; 47. 9. The gen. depends on τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα. *Cf.* c. 52. 11; 68. 7; iii. 30. 4. *As in the case of any technical dexterity.* — **τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα**: *what is new* (*cf.* c. 70. 9), whether of inventions (as with τέχνη), or of new views and plans in politics. — **κρατεῖν**: *sc.* τῶν ἀρχαιοτρόπων. — 11. **νόμιμα**: like ἐπιτηδεύματα, *principles, habits.* — 12. **πρὸς πολλὰ ἰέναι**: = πολλοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν, as viii. 27. 18, πρὸς αὐθαιρέτους κινδύνους ἰέναι. — **ἐπιτεχνήσεως**: here only in Attic; chosen in reference to τέχνη: *progressive improvement.* ἐπι- as in ἐπισκευάζειν. The emphatic repetition of πολλῆς makes καί take the second place. — 13. **ἀπό**: *in consequence of, through the influence of.* *Cf.* c. 12. 5; 23. 27; 24. 10. — 14. **ἐπὶ πλέον**: *cf.* c. 9. 20.

15. **μέχρι τοῦδε ὡρίσθω**: *cf.* c. 51. 9; iii. 82. 62. — **ὑμῶν**: for position, see on c. 30. 14. — 16. **ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε**: see c. 58. 8. — 18. **ἄνδρας τε**: correlated with καὶ ἡμᾶς, 19. — 19. **πρὸς . . . ξυμμαχίαν**: a similar threat made by the Corcyraeans, c. 28. § 3. If we must suppose a definite plan, the Argives are probably thought of, as enemies to the Lacedaemonians.

20. **δρῷμεν ἄν**: *sc.* εἰ πρὸς ἑτέραν ξυμμαχίαν τραποίμεθα. — 21. **πρὸς θεῶν**: *in the face of*, and so, 'in the judgment of.' *Cf.* ii. 71. 22; iii. 58. 1, θεῶν τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν. Hom. A 339. For the position of the epithets, see on c. 1. 6. — **αἰσθανομένων**: abs., *who have judgment, insight.* *Cf.* v. 26. 23. — 22. **ἐρημίαν**: *abandonment, isolation.* *Cf.* iii. 67. 10, 18. — **ἄλλοις προσιόντες**: *cf.* c. 40. 23; 75. 6.

24. **βουλομένων . . . εἶναι**: this presumption, for the fulfilment of which the whole speech presses, is the condition of each of the following

ἄλλους εὕροιμεν. πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε εὖ, καὶ τὴν Πε- 7
λοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέ-
ρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν."

72 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων 1
— ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ
ἄλλων παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἤσθοντο τῶν λόγων ~~ἔδοξεν~~ αὐ-
τοῖς παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν
5 ἐγκλημάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους, ὧν αἱ πόλεις
ἐνεκάλουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὡς οὐ ταχέως
αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον. καὶ
ἅμα τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι ὅση εἴη δύ-

clauses, "for then should we —." For the gen. προθύμων, see G. 138, N. 8; H. 941; Kühn. 475. — 26. πρὸς τάδε: *in view of this; therefore.* Also πρὸς ταῦτα, at the close of longer speeches; Lat. proinde. Freq. in Soph. *Cf. Aj.* 971, 1313; *El.* 383, 820; *O. R.* 426; *O. C.* 956; *Ant.* 658. — 27. ἐξηγεῖσθαι: Cl. refers to vi. 85. 7 for another instance of the acc. with this verb. But there he now reads, with the best Mss., τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, notwithstanding the following acc. in appos. So St. The dat. occurs also iii. 55. 14, along with an acc. of the inner obj. The verb must be regarded here as trans. Kühn. 420, note 6. — μὴ ἐλάσσω: expresses the result of ἐξηγεῖσθαι, proleptic pred. Kühn. 405, 3.

72. *Ambassadors of the Athenians, who were accidentally at Sparta, seek to withhold the Lacedaemonians from an over-hasty decision.*

1. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων . . . ἔτυχε γάρ: the inclination of the earlier usage to place causal sentences in parataxis with the principal clause (see on c. 31. 7) leads sometimes to an involved structure whereby strict grammatical sequence is interrupted. In c. 37. 7; 57. 16; iii. 70. 11; 107. 16; *etc.*, the grammatical connexion is not violated; but in iv. 132. 7 the δέ interferes with it. In this passage and c. 115. 15; Hdt. ii. 101. 1; iv. 200. 5 the structure is impaired by the gen., which depends on the inserted clause: as by the dat. in viii. 30. 2; Hdt. i. 24. 17; ix. 109. 7. In all these passages there is a clear anacoluthon. καί, 3, is bracketed by v. H. and Kr. — 3. τῶν λόγων: see on c. 57. 14. — 4. παριτητέα: for the pl., see on c. 7. 2; 59. 4; for the form, Kr. *Spr.* 38, 3, 6; for the meaning, see on c. 67. 12, and *cf.* 15. — 5. ἀπολογησομένους: following αὐτοῖς. See on c. 31. 10. — 6. δηλῶσαι δέ: though opp. to μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους, the inf. is controlled by ἔδοξε, whereby it is more energetic. So also περὶ τοῦ παντός points to the importance of the question. *Cf.* c. 126. 26; 132. 23; v. 30. 6; viii. 79. 12. — 7. ὡς . . . εἴη: βουλευτέον is from either βουλεύειν or βουλεύεσθαι (see on c. 85. 5): *that they ought to come to no over-hasty decision.* — ἐν πλείονι: temporal, as διὰ πλείονος, c. 124. 13; ἐκ πλείονος, iv. 42. 15; 103. 13; v. 82. 9;

ναμιν, καὶ ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις
ὧν ἤδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησιν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν,
νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυ-
χάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. προσελθόντες 2
οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ
πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύῃ. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευόν
τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε·

73 "Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς 1
ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμ-
ψεν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν
παρήλθομεν, οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες
(οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ

viii. 91. 1. — 8. **τὴν πόλιν**: proleptic. See on c. 23. 23; 26. 6. — **ἐβούλοντο**: needlessly rejected by Cobet, *ad Hyper.* p. 67, who did not see that *νομίζοντες* in 11 requires it. — 9. **καὶ ὑπόμνησιν. . . ἦσαν**: *τε* is used with *τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις* as if for *τοῖς νεωτέροις* another noun, *ἐξήγησιν*, were not required. *Cf.* iv. 52. 5; Xen. *An.* i. 2. 21. But Cobet places *τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις* before *ὑπόμνησιν*. — 11. **ἐκ τῶν λόγων**: *under the influence of their arguments*: stronger than *ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων*, vi. 19. 6.

13. **τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις**: *i.e. τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, i.e.* the Ephors. — **ἐς τὸ πλῆθος εἰπεῖν**: *cf.* iv. 58. 9; v. 45. 3; vi. 41. 13; 89. 1. — 14. **εἴ τι μή**: unusual order for *εἰ μή τι*, which Cobet would read. — **ἀποκωλύῃ**: see App. But most editors read the indic. *Cf.* Xen. *An.* iv. 8. 4, *εἰ μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω διαλεχθῆναι*. — 15. **ἐπιέναι**: (*ἐπέρχεσθαι*) here, as in c. 90. 29; 91. 16; 119. 9; iii. 52. 24, of appearing before an assembly or magistrate, particularly of foreigners: *παριέναι*, specifically of coming forward to speak. — **ἔλεγον**: on the tense, see GMT. § 11, N. 5; H. 831. But "the impf. has only to do with the vision of the narrator." B. L. G., Am. J. of Ph. IV. 160.

Speech of the Athenian Envoys. Chaps. 73–78.

73. *That you may rightly judge of the complaints made against us, we must remind you of the services of Athens in the first and second Persian wars.*

1. **ἡ πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν ἐγένετο**: the pass. expression of the act. periphrasis, *τὴν πρέσβευσιν ἐποιησάμεθα*. See on c. 50. 8. *Cf.* c. 75. 14; 87. 18; 96. 10; ii. 11. 18; 14. 7; iv. 74. 17; *etc.* **πρέσβευσις** not found elsewhere in Attic. — **τοῖς ξυμμάχοις**: dependent on *ἀντιλογίαν*. See on 63. 9. — 3. **καταβοήν**: *cf.* viii. 85. 10; 87. 19. Not elsewhere in Attic. But *καταβοᾶν* in c. 67. 4. — 4. **τῶν πολέων**: see c. 67. § 1, 2. — 5. **οὐ γὰρ . . . ἂν γίγνοιντο**: the stress of the thought lies mainly on *παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν*, "our taking part in these proceedings does not imply that we recognize you as our judges." **ἡμῶν**

λόγοι ἂν γίγνοιντο), ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ῥᾳδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλεύσησθε, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι ὡς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἃ κεκτήμεθα, ἥ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν. καὶ τὰ μὲν 2 πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψις τῶν ἀκουσομένων; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλόμενα, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἧς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ

and τούτων depend on λόγοι. — 6. ἀλλ' ὅπως . . . ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν: the positive purpose of the speech is expressed, (1) by the conj. ὅπως κτέ., and (2) by the partic. βουλόμενοι κτέ. (going back in constr. to ἀντεροῦντες); and the second of these includes two points: (*a*) ὡς οὔτε . . . κεκτήμεθα, and (*b*) ἥ τε πόλις . . . ἐστίν. But in carrying out this scheme, the order is changed chiastically, and the speaker treats (*b*) in c. 73 to 74. § 2; (*a*) in c. 75 to 77; and (1) in c. 78. — 8. περὶ τοῦ παντὸς . . . καθεστῶτος: not about the complaints just now brought forward by the Corinthians, — the partic. pf. could not mean this, — but on the whole judgment which our enemies have this long while formed about us. — 9. οὔτε ἀπεικότως: *cf.* ii. 8. 2; vi. 55. 11; viii. 68. 25, always with neg., and by litotes = δικαιότατα.

10. καὶ . . . μέν . . . δέ: transition to consideration of details. *Cf.* c. 69. 14. — τὰ πάνυ παλαιά: Schol., τὰ κατὰ Ἀμαζόνας καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ Ἡρακλείδας; favourite themes among the panegyrists of Athens at all times. These are put aside with an ironical oxymoron, ὧν . . . ἀκουσομένων, for ἀκοαὶ λόγων are in no proper sense μάρτυρες. ἀκοαί, pl. on account of the pl. object, as in c. 20. 3; while ὄψις with the pl. *subjective* gen. is to be preferred to ὄψεις of the inferior Mss. which Kr., St., and v. H. adopt (in c. 10. 17, τὰς ὄψεις is connected with the *objective* τῶν πόλεων). ὧν depends on μάρτυρες. With μᾶλλον . . . ἤ, as with οὐχ ἧσσον . . . ἤ, c. 70. 31, the second member is practically denied. — 13. ξύνιστε: *i.e.* of your own knowledge. *Cf.* ii. 35. 10; iii. 56. 2. — δι' ὄχλου ἔσται: = ἐνοχλήσει. See on c. 40. 16. — μᾶλλον . . . ἀεί: express reciprocal proportion; "the more annoying, the more often they are brought forward." Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 351. — προβαλλόμενα: see App. — 14. ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν: *when we were engaged in the war. Cf.* c. 69. 11. — ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ: *to gain a common good*, a modestly vague expression for ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. — 15. ἐκινδυνεύετο: impers. pass.; see on c. 46. 1. — ἧς: see on c. 10. 20; 35. 15. The gen. depends both on ἔργου and on λόγου, the former of the practical gains, the latter of the result in fame. μέρος, which is usually not expressed with μετέχειν, is here necessary as opp. to τοῦ λόγου παντός, where παντός is made more forcible by its pred.

δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ τι ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἕνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἵαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται. φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς πανδημεὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχῆσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησε· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησε.

3 4 5

position. — 16. **εἴ τι ὠφελεῖ**: "if you have received your share in the practical results, we should not miss all our share of the credit, if there is any advantage in that," as there would be if it led now to a just appreciation of the present case.

ῥηθήσεται: this form of the fut. also viii. 66. 5. *εἰρήσεται*, vi. 34. 18; the latter is the only form in Tragedy and in Hom. — 17. **οὐ μᾶλλον — ἤ**: *not so much — as*, the former member being completely excluded. *Cf.* c. 70. 31. — **παραιτήσεως**: here only in Thuc. = *τοῦ αἰτεῖν ξυγγνώμην*, "not to excuse ourselves." — 18. **πρὸς οἵαν**: see on c. 70. 4. — **ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται**: a significant and solemn expression for *ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται*, in reference to the momentous character of the war, if it should actually break out.

19. **Μαραθῶνι**: on this as a locative form, without *ἐν*, see Kühn. 426, 1; and App. on c. 18. 13. In ii. 34. 14 the Mss. have *ἐν*. — **μόνοι**: no doubt the Plataeans were counted as Athenians. See Hdt. vi. 108; 111. — **προκινδυνεῦσαι**: from the frequent use of *κίνδυνος* for *μάχη*, the verb here has the sense and even the const. of *μάχεσθαι*. **προ-**, *before all others, i.e.* before they appeared on the ground. *Cf.* vii. 56. 21. — 22. **ξυνναυμαχῆσαι**: *i.e. κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν*, opp. to the former *μόνοι*. — **ἔσχε**: *prevented*; with *μή* and inf. also in Hdt. *Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλειδεω . . . ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους*, i. 158. 8; ix. 12. 5; with *τὸ μή*, Hdt. v. 101. 1; with acc., vii. 62. 13; Hdt. vii. 171. 12; viii. 110. 15; Soph. *El.* 375. GMT. 95, 2 *c*; H. 1029. — 24. **ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων**: *i.e. ἐν ᾧ (εἰ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπέπλει) ἀδύνατοι ἂν ἦσαν*. *Cf.* iii. 82. 6. GMT. 41, 1; H. 987. The gen. *τῶν Πελοποννησίων* must be supplied. See on c. 2. 9; 3. 9.

25. **τεκμήριον ἐποίησε**: *cf.* iii. 67. 28, *παράδειγμα*. — 26. **ὁμοίας**: paris, *i.e. ἀντιπάλου, ἀξιομάχου*: in this sense in ii. 89. 4; *οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι*, Hdt. ix. 96. 9; very seldom elsewhere. In c. 80. 8 *παρόμοιος* in same sense. — 27. **τῷ πλέονι**: *i.e.* except what was left with Mardonius, Hdt. viii. 113.

74 "Τοιούτου μέντοι ξυμβάντος τούτου καὶ σαφῶς δη- 1
λωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα
ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα,
ἀριθμόν τε νεῶν πλεῖστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώ-
τατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην· ναῦς μέν γε ἐς τὰς
τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστο-
κλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι
ἐγένετο (ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα) καὶ αὐτὸν
διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς
ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων. προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην 2
ἐδείξαμεν, οἵ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει,

74. *We supplied the largest number of ships, the ablest commander, and the most disinterested zeal.*

1. τοιούτου: pred. to *τούτου ξυμβάντος*. Different from c. 71. 1. — **δηλωθέντος**: one of the rare instances where an abs. impers. partic. is in the gen., not the acc.; like the Lat. comperto, nuntiato, *etc.* So *ἀεὶ καθεστῶτος*, c. 76. 11; *ἀγγελθέντος*, vi. 58. 1. So the neut. pl. *ἐσαγγελθέντων*, c. 116. 15; *πλοϊμωτέρων ὄντων*, c. 7. 2; *ὄντων ἀκρίτων*, iv. 20. 5. GMT. 110, 1, N. 3; H. 973 a; Kühn. 486, note 2. — **2. ἐν**: *dependent on.* — **τὰ πράγματα**: *the political existence*, salus, summa rerum. *Cf.* c. 110. 1; ii. 65. 43; iii. 93. 13; vii. 27. 14; 49. 4. — **3. ἐγένετο**: aor. of *εἶναι*: "that the salvation of the Greeks depended on their ships." — **ἐς αὐτό**: refers to what precedes. *Cf.* c. 68. 3, 9. — **παρεσχόμεθα**: "the mid. is used regularly in reference to the supply of good, not evil; exceptions chiefly in Plat." B. L. G. — **4. ἄνδρα στρατηγόν**: the generic and the specific term united, as often. — **5. ἀοκνοτάτην**: see on c. 70. 14. — **μέν γε**: *μέν* begins the enumeration, *γε* emphasizes *ναῦς*, though always placed after the other particle. See on c. 40. 15. *Cf.* 70. 6. — **6. τετρακοσίας**: probably a round number instead of 378 as given by Hdt. viii. 48. But Aesch. *Pers.* 339 gives 310, and Dem. XVIII. 238 gives 300 (in XIV. 29, 200 acc. to Ms. Σ) as the whole number. Of this total the Athenian 200 (180 + 20 lent to Chalcidians, Hdt. viii. 1; 44) could be spoken of as *πλείους τῶν ἡμίσεων*, or with slight exaggeration as *ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν*. The art. is wanting in the best Mss. but seems indispensable to the fraction $\frac{2}{3}$. *Cf.* c. 10. 9; 104. 9; ii. 10. 6. See App. — **7. ναυμαχῆσαι**: inf. without art. after *αἴτιος* here only in Thuc. *Cf.* Soph. *Ant.* 1173. GMT. 92, 1, N. 2; H. 952; Kühn. 473, 3. For the fact, see Hdt. viii. 60. — **8. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο κτέ.**: the importance of Themistocles is enforced by the position of *αὐτόν*, in which the relative sentence is continued as usual (see on c. 42. 2); and *ἄνδρα ξένον*, = *καίπερ ἄνδρα ξένον ὄντα*, has its full force as pred. — **9. ἐτιμήσατε**: see Hdt. viii. 124; Plut. *Them.* 17. 3.

10. καὶ πολύ: emphasizes the sup. strongly. *Cf.* c. 25. 20; vi. 22. 6; 24.

τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων ἠξιώσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείραντες, μηδ' ὡς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν μηδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προετιμωρήσατε. ὥστε φαμὲν οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτοὶ ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς 3 ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου· ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπό τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον, ἐβοηθήσατε (ὅτε γοῦν ἦμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε)· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπό τε τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης κινδυνεύοντες ξυνεσώσαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῳ, 4 δείσαντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι, περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολμή-

7; vii. 34. 35; 41. 14. *Cf.* also viii. 68. 21; 89. 26. — 11. **οἵ γε**: forcibly taking up the subj. of *ἐδείξαμεν*. See on c. 68. 15. — 12. **μέχρι ἡμῶν**: properly of place, 'up to our borders'; then numerically, *except ourselves*. — **ἠξιώσαμεν**: see on c. 42. 2. — 13. **διαφθείραντες**: = *προέμενοι*. Schol., *διαφθαρῆναι ἐάσαντες*. — 14. **προλιπεῖν**: an emphatic deserere, as ii. 87. 31. — 16. **μὴ ὀργισθῆναι**: as c. 32. 7, *not to take offence*. For *μή*, see on c. 43. 4.

17. **αὐτοί**: *we on our side*. The other side of the case is expressed by *ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου*, to avoid the ambiguity of *ἢ ὑμᾶς ὠφελῆσαι ἡμᾶς*. — 18. **τούτου**: *i.e.* *τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὠφελίας*. — **οἰκουμένων**: impf. partic. emphasized by its pred. position, *while they were still undisturbed*. **ἀπό κτέ.**, of the starting-point; **ἐπὶ κτέ.**, of the purpose. — 19. **νέμεσθαι**: *to possess, to occupy*. See on c. 2. 6. — 20. **καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον**: ironical, for *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὸ πλέον (=μᾶλλον) ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*. The proof is given in *ὅτε γοῦν . . . παρεγένεσθε*. — 21. **τῆς οὐκ οὔσης . . . ἐλπίδι οὔσης**: *cf.* Hdt. viii. 57. 7, *περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις*; the same thought in the famous answer of Themistocles, Hdt. viii. 61. 8, *ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢπερ κείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι*. The state had then only an ideal existence, in the ships and their crews; and so *οὐκ οὔσης* opp. to *οἰκουμένων*, as *τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης*, "whose continuance rests only on a feeble hope," is to *τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι*. — 22. **ὁρμώμενοι**: *cf.* c. 144. 22; ii. 65. 5; iv. 8. 36; vii. 49. 17. — 23. **τὸ μέρος**: referring to *ἡμεῖς* in *ξυνεσώσαμεν*, pro virili parte, *as far as we could*. *Cf.* c. 127. 7; ii. 67. 17. G. 160, 2; H. 719. Kühn. 410, note 15.

25. **ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι**: *just as others did*: contemptuous omission of the names, *e.g.* of the Thebans. *καί*, though as usual inserted in the rel. clause,

σαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἔδει ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προεχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ᾗ ἐβούλετο.

75 "Ἆρ' ἄξιοί ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας 1
ἕνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως, ἀρχῆς γε ἧς ἔχομεν
τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι; καὶ 2
γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν μὲν
5 οὐκ ἐθελησάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν
δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστῆναι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου 3
κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε,

really emphasizes ἡμεῖς. — 26. **ὡς διεφθαρμένοι**: *because we looked upon ourselves as already ruined.* — 27. **οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει**: "ἐχρῆν εἶναι, oportebat esse, at non sunt; ἐχρῆν ἂν εἶναι, oporteret esse, at non oportet." Franke. GMT. 49, 2, Rem. 1; H. 897; Kühn. 392 b, note 2. Ironical: *you would have had no more need to fight,* because you could not. — 28. **προεχώρησε**: *cf.* c. 111. 7; 127. 4; ii. 5. 2; *etc.* — 29. **ᾗ ἐβούλετο**: assimilated to the mood of the unreal apodosis. G. 235, 2; H. 919; Kühn. 399, 6 a.

75. *No one should regard us with disfavour on account of our hegemony. Circumstances compelled us to assume it, and strong measures are necessary to maintain it.*

1. **ἆρα**: here = ἆρ' οὐ, since an affirmative answer is expected. *Cf.* Soph. *O. C.* 753, 780. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 9; Kühn. 587, 14. — 2. **τῆς τότε**: belongs also to ξυνέσεως, on which **γνώμης** depends, in reference to the battle of Salamis, **γνώμη** being here *decision* (*cf.* c. 32. 17; 77. 9; 122. 12), not 'intelligence.' — **ἀρχῆς**: depends upon **ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι** = φθονεῖσθαι. Kühn. 419, 1 e. This periphrasis means "to be in a position exposed to envy," like **ὑπόπτως διακεῖσθαι**, viii. 68. 8. — 3. **μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν**: = ἧσσον. The question, as with **οὐκ οὖν**, implies a forcible assertion: "verily, we do not deserve to be regarded with so much jealousy."

4. **ἐλάβομεν**: not **ἐκτησάμεθα**. *We took it,* when you gave it up, tanquam in medio positam. — 5. **παραμεῖναι**: *to continue on the spot. Cf.* iii. 10. 9; vi. 61. 26; vii. 15. 9; Xen. *An.* ii. 6. 2. — **τὰ ὑπόλοιπα**: *what yet remained,* with the implication that it was not much. The reference is to the garrisons still maintained by the Persians on the Hellespont, *etc.* — **τοῦ βαρβάρου**: collective, = τῶν βαρβάρων or τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν βαρβάρων. *Cf.* iii. 10. 9, πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. — 6. **προσελθόντων**: see on c. 39. 11; 40. 23. For the fact, see c. 95.

8. **προαγαγεῖν κτέ.**: *to raise it to its present height. Cf.* c. 144. 25; vi. 18. 32. This growing advance of the Athenian hegemony is sharply op-

μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον
καὶ ὠφελίας, καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς πολ- 4
λοῖς ἀπηχθημένους καί τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατε-
στραμμένων ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων, ἀλλ'
ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων, ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ
γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγίγνοντο· πᾶσι δὲ 5
ἀνεπίφθονον, τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύ-
νων εὖ τίθεσθαι.

76 "Ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποι- 1

posed to its beginning, as a consequence of the free offer of the allies; and therefore there should be a full stop after καταστῆναι. This progress has its two stages marked by τὸ πρῶτον and καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλές in 10. The position of things itself (ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου) forced them to advance (ἐξ causal as in c. 2. 17; 72. 11). Three motives are indicated: (1) *fear*, of untrustworthy allies as well as of rivals; (2) *honour*, when the offer of the hegemony had once been accepted; (3) *self-interest*, since the hegemony furnished the means of aggrandizement. The three gens. are governed by ὑπό. See on c. 6. 20. — 10. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς κτέ.: this is the second point; after the first step had been taken, our own security forbade us to go back. — 11. ἀπηχθημένους ... κατεστραμμένων: pf. partics., with the full meaning of "when it had once come to this, that *etc.*"; whereas the aor. ἀποστάντων, as giving the occasion, is subord. to κατεστραμμένων, to which also καὶ ἤδη belongs: *after we had once incurred the hatred of most, and several of our allies who had revolted had been by that time (ἤδη) forcibly reduced.* — 12. ὑμῶν τε: see on c. 2. 6. — 13. ὑπόπτων: *suspicious*, as in iv. 103. 11; v. 25. 9. But in c. 131. 12; viii. 45. 4, 'suspected.' — ἀνέντας: here abs., *remiss, relaxing our hold.* *Cf.* vi. 18. 16; 86. 14; and the free use of ἀνειμένος, c. 6. 7; ii. 39. 8; v. 9. 19.

καὶ γὰρ ἄν: *sc.* εἰ ἀνεῖμεν, indic. aor. See on c. 11. 5. — 14. ἐγίγνοντο: see on c. 73. 1. — 15. ἀνεπίφθονον: like the Homeric οὔ τι νεμεσητόν (T 182), constantly without ἐστί. *Cf.* c. 82. 8; vi. 83. 9; viii. 50. 28. πᾶσιν ἀνεπίφθονον = οὐδενὶ ἐπίφθονον. — τὰ ξυμφέροντα: *what is for their interest*, here, for guarding against these dangers. With this εὖ τίθεσθαι, *to make a good disposition of*, is quite proper. See on c. 25. 2. *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 236. 17. — τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων: *when it is a question of the greatest dangers.* Thuc. uses πέρι, not περί, (1) with the rel. pron., as c. 95. 10; (2) to emphasize the preceding word, as c. 72. 5; (3) when the clause is abs. or has only a loose connexion with its sentence, as here and c. 10. 25; 23. 12. Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 278. These dangers are sufficiently indicated by κινδυνεύειν, 13, with its parenthetical exposition καὶ γὰρ ἂν κτέ.

76. *You would find yourselves as unpopular as we are if you were in our position.*

1. γοῦν: adduces a proof for a particular case; see on c. 2. 18. "You Lacedaemonians, for example, act in

νήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγεῖσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἧσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν. οὕ- 2
τως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχήν γε διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνεῖμεν, ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελίας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε ἅμα νομίζοντες

the same way, look after your own interest just as much." — 2. **ἐπὶ τὸ . . . καταστησάμενοι**: *cf.* c. 19. 3, *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες.* — 3. **ἐξηγεῖσθε**: *exercise your supremacy*, here abs., as in c. 95. 26; ii. 65. 17; and *ἡγεῖσθαι* c. 19. 3. — **τότε**: *ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς.* — **διὰ παντός**: temporal, *to the end.* See on c. 38. 2. — **εἰ τότε . . . τοῖς ξυμμάχοις**: the protasis and apodosis are not tautological. "If you had by the continuance of your rule come to be detested, you would have found yourselves obliged to resort to as stringent measures of repression as we." — 4. **μὴ ἂν . . . γενομένους**: partic. in indir. disc. after *ἴσμεν.* GMT. 113; H. 982. If the image of the dir. disc. is vividly present, its *οὐ* is usually retained. GMT. 69, 5. But verbs of *will*, including the notions of *making, promising, hoping, believing*, have a strong preference for *μή*. *Cf.* c. 139. 6; ii. 17. 15; vi. 102. 19; vii. 29. 14; Soph. *El.* 908; Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 41. Cases where *οὐ* is used are: c. 25. 1; 140. 2; ii. 36. 18; v. 4. 24; vi. 64. 5. See Am. J. of Ph. 1, 48.

7. **ἀπό**: see on c. 7. 6. — 8. **ἀρχήν γε**: Cl. reads *γε* here, for *τε* of the Mss. (which all the recent editors have retained), on the ground that no opposition exists between *ἀρχήν* and *ταύτην.* But *τε καί* would here unite as a whole the two sentences, which are properly complements of each other: "we acted only like men, both in accepting the command when it was offered to us, and in not giving it up afterwards." — **εἰ . . . ἐδεξάμεθα**: the influence of *θαυμαστόν* causes the fact to be expressed in hypothetical form. *Cf.* c. 33. 8. — **διδομένην**: *cf.* c. 33. 25; iv. 21. 3. — 9. **ἀνεῖμεν**: aor. indic.; here with definite obj., different from c. 75. 13. — **ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων**: H. Weil (Rev. de Philol., 1878, p. 92) conjectures *ὑπὸ τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων*, referring to c. 74. 3 and iii. 40. 6. But since only the same three motives are meant as were specified in c. 75. 9, there is no need of emphasis on the number here. — **νικηθέντες**: metaphorical, as in ii. 47. 17; 51. 23; 60. 22; 87. 9. — 11. **ὑπάρξαντες**: *having been the originators;* with and without a gen. *Cf.* ii. 67. 29; 74. 17. — **καθεστῶτος**: the subj. is in the following inf. (see on c. 74. 1), *it being an estab-*

εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες, μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε, ὃν οὐδείς πω παρατυχὸν ἰσχύι τι κτήσασθαι προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο. ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ἄξιοι, οἵτινες χρησάμενοι 3 τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἑτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιότεροι ἦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγένηνται. ἄλλους γ' ἂν 4 οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα εἴ τι μετριάζομεν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλέον ἢ ἔπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη.

77 "Καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς 1 τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς

lished rule. Cf. iii. 43. 5. — 12. **ἄξιοί τε**: τε introduces the third reason, as c. 67. 6; 69. 3. — 13. **ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες**: *sc.* ἄξιοι εἶναι. See c. 95. 25. — **μέχρι οὗ . . . νῦν χρῆσθε**: "till it suits you to talk about justice, while your real calculations are those of expediency." Since δοκοῦντες is a partic. impf. = ἐδοκοῦμεν, μέχρι οὗ (H. 999) should be followed by a past indic. (GMT. 66; H. 922); and so for χρῆσθε we should expect the aor.; but the pres. is suggested by νῦν. — 14. **ὅν**: introduces the real state of the case (*cf.* c. 10. 20; 33. 13); "whereas no one, when he had the opportunity of gaining something by force, ever gave justice the preference (Schol., προκρίνας) and turned aside from his advantage." *Cf.* iii. 39. 20, ἰσχὺν τοῦ δικαίου προθεῖναι; iii. 84. 14; Hdt. iii. 53. 16. — **παρατυχόν**: see on c. 2. 8; 22. 9. — **μή**: pleonastic after a verb of negative meaning. GMT. 95, 2 *d*; H. 1029.

16. **ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε**: τε inferential, *and so. Cf.* c. 4. 5; 67. 3. — **οἵτινες . . . γεγένηνται**: the speaker leaves it to the hearers to apply this general statement to the case of the Athenians. — 17. **δικαιότεροι . . . γεγένηνται**: *have allowed more weight to considerations of right than they might have done, considering their power.* Kühn. 543, 8; Kr. *Spr.* 49, 4. — 18. **ἂν — ἄν**: see on c. 36. 14. The former of the two separates γοῦν, *at any rate*, into its component parts. — 20. **τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς**: *fairness, equity*, the temper which results in μετριάζειν. — 21. **περιέστη**: *turned out at last.* See on c. 32. 15; with dat. also, vi. 24. 6; vii. 70. 37.

77. *The forbearance we have shown in our dealings with our allies has so spoiled them, that they break out into complaints if they are thwarted in any way.*

1. **καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι κτέ.**: we have here the proof of the concluding words of c. 76. St.'s is probably the correct interpretation of this passage, adopted in the main by Cl. It depends on these particulars: (1) The former καί = καίπερ and brings out the concessive force of the two partics. (2) ταῖς . . . δίκαις refers to what are commonly called δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων, *i.e.* commercial treaties originally made between independent states, in accordance with which disputes in matters of trade

ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν, τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἀρ- 2
χὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἧσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις
οὖσι διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν
ἐξῇ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι 3
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἤν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴ-
εσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
ὀπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι

(ex contractu) were decided upon certain fixed rules in the courts of the defendant's city. As Athens had no doubt such treaties with many of her allies before their subjection to tribute, there is no reason to suppose they were abrogated after that change in their political status. (3) *τὰς κρίσεις* refers to the compulsory jurisdiction which Athens enforced upon her allies in her own courts in suits arising ex delicto between Athenians and citizens of subject states, and also between citizens of subject states by way of appeal, when the sentence in the local court was either death, exile, or disfranchisement. Probably it soon came to pass that the more important of such cases were brought to Athenian courts in the first instance. (4) *αὐτοῖς* does not agree with *ἡμῖν* but means *for them, i.e.* for the allies. The passage may be thus paraphrased: "For even though we exact less than our power would justify in cases decided under commercial treaties made with our allies, and though we have established for them trials in our own courts on the basis of impartial laws for us and them, we are thought to be litigious." *Cf.* Dem. LVI. 14, *ἡγούμενοι δεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν φιλόδικοι εἶναι.* See Am. J. of Ph. V. p. 298 ff., and I. p. 4 ff.

4. **αὐτῶν**: *i.e. τῶν ξυμμάχων.* — **τοῖς καὶ . . . μετρίοις οὖσι**: placed for emphasis before the interr. *διότι, why. Cf.* c. 19. 3 (*ὅπως*); 120. 9 (*ἤν*); 10. 5 (*εἰ*). Kühn. 606, 6; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 17, 7. — 6. **βιάζεσθαι γάρ**: this gives the reason of some suppressed thought, like *εἰκότως*. See Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Erkl.* note 119. The assonance of *βιάζ.-σθαι, δικάζεσθαι* gives a kind of proverbial character to the sentence.

8. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**: *on a basis of equality;* with *ὁμιλεῖν* again, iii. 11. 3. *Cf.* c. 99. 7; 136. 15; 140. 31; 143. 14; ii. 89. 5; iii. 84. 7; iv. 19. 11; v. 101. 2. Also *ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης.* — **παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι χρῆναι**: the neg. which properly belongs to *χρῆναι* is attracted to *οἴεσθαι*, after the analogy of *οὔ φημι, οὐ νομίζω, οὐκ ἐῶ, against their conviction that it ought not so to be.* Since with *χρῆναι* is to be supplied from what follows, *ἐλασσωθῆναι αὐτούς*, the neg. *μή* is not pleonastic (Bonitz) nor to be bracketed (Kr.). — 9. **ἢ γνώμῃ . . . τὴν ἀρχήν**: *whether by a decree or by some exercise of power required by the interests of our empire.* — **καὶ ὁπωσοῦν**: *even in any degree whatever, ever so little. Cf.* vii. 60. 20; viii. 90. 16; 91. 21; with *οὐδέ*, vii. 49. 7. — 10. **οὐ τοῦ πλέονος κτέ.**: *τὸ πλέον* is the advantage of an equal standing in the courts of law, which is of far greater moment, on the whole, than

χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερῶς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν· ἐκείνως δ' οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεὼν τὸν ἥσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὡς 4
ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι. ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου 5
δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν, εἰ καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, 6

the occasional acts of interference rendered necessary by the interests of the leading state. This indispensable subordination is called here *τὸ ἐνδεές*, *what is lacking*, "the trifling restrictions they have to submit to." It is better to govern *τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς* by *στερισκόμενοι* repeated, than with Cl., B., Kr. to make it depend on *χαλεπώτερον φέροντες*. They refer to ii. 62. 18. But there *αὐτῶν* is bracketed by Dobree and changed to *αὐτῷ* by Madvig. The const. here preferred is adopted by Sh., St., and Madvig, *Adv.* I. 311, who says, *τὸ ἐνδεές* est quod deest ad spem explendam; hoc qui non accipit, eo privari videtur. — 12. **ἀπὸ πρώτης**: *from the first*, with no definite ellipsis. See on c. 14. 15. With art., vii. 43. 35. — **τὸν νόμον**: *legality, pretence of law:* a rare use, yet similar to that in ii. 53. 13; iii. 45. 8; 56. 5. — 13. **ἐκείνως δέ**: *i.e. εἰ φανερῶς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν*: the thought, not the statement, being regarded as remote. *Cf.* iii. 46. 8; vi. 11. 10. *δέ* is epexegetic, not adversative. — **ὡς οὐ**: after verbs of neg. meaning, 'doubt,' 'deny,' *etc.*, *οὐ* sometimes follows *ὡς* (*ὅτι*) introducing a finite verb, thus continuing the neg. idea of the governing verb. *Cf. μή* with inf., c. 76. 15. H. 1029 a; Kühn. 516, 3 b. *ἀντέλεγον* here = *contest, deny* (not 'rejoin,' as in c. 28. 16). *Cf.* c. 86. 3; viii. 24. 27.

14. **τε**: inferential, as c. 67. 3; 76. 16. **ἀδικούμενοι** as opposed to *βιαζόμενοι* implies stealth or overreaching. — 16. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**: Cl. regards this and *τοῦ κρείσσονος*, with Herbst, as masc. But they are probably neut. Sh. explains: "for the one (*ἀδίκημα*) is thought to be, when the start is made from a position of equality, an act of overreaching; the other, when it is made from one of superiority, an act of compulsion." — 18. **πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο**: *cf.* ii. 74. 3; v. 69. 8; vi. 16. 20. G. 279; H. 983. — 19. **εἰκότως**: advs. are often thus placed with emphasis at the end of sentences, but should not be separated by punctuation from what precedes. — **τὸ παρὸν γὰρ κτέ.**: here the argument passes to the general consideration that superior power is always felt as a grievance by those who have to submit to it.

20. **ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν**: *cf.* c. 76. 18. Kühn. 508, 2 a. — **καθελόντες**: *having overthrown;* with acc. of person, iii.

τάχα ἂν τὴν εὔνοιαν ἣν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ, οἷα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε. ἄμικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἷς ἕκαστος ἐξιὼν οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει.

78 "Βουλεύεσθε οὖν βραδέως ὡς οὐ περὶ βραχέων, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον πόνον προσθῆσθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὸν παράλογον ὅσος ἐστί, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, προδιάγνωτε· μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε

13. 33; iv. 85. 7; of thing (δύναμιν, ἀρχήν), v. 14. 14; vi. 11. 13; of both, c. 16. 4; Hdt. i. 71. 3. — **ἄρξαιτε**: *you should attain power.* See on c. 3. 8. — 21. **τάχα**: generally in Attic expresses probability, and except viii. 94. 8 constantly in Thuc. with ἄν; but here it includes also its primary temporal meaning. So also when it is combined with ἴσως: vi. 10. 14; 34. 9; 78. 16. — **τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος**: see on c. 33. 19; 69. 30. — 22. **μεταβάλοιτε**: short for τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῇ ἀποβάλοιτε. — **δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι**: *after you had only for a short time held the hegemony.* δι' ὀλίγου, of time. *Cf.* ii. 85. 9; iii. 43. 14. — 23. **ὑπεδείξατε**: *showed a glimpse of.* *Cf.* iv. 86. 19. — **ὁμοῖα γνώσεσθε**: *you shall adopt such principles:* so often with neut. pl., iii. 57. 3; v. 36. 10. — 24. **ἄμικτα τοῖς ἄλλοις**: *i.e.* τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων (c. 71. 9), *incompatible with* (not corresponding to) *the habits of others,* and therefore not conducive to frank intercourse. — **τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς**: τε belongs by hyperbaton not to the noun but to the whole sentence; ἔχετε and χρῆται are opposed. — 25. **εἷς ἕκαστος**: the reference is mainly to Pausanias. — **ἐξιών**: *when he goes abroad* in command. *Cf.* c. 95. 23; iv. 5. 3; v. 34. 2; vi. 37. 18. — 26. **οἷς . . . νομίζει**: dat. as with χρῆσθαι. *Cf.* ii. 38. 3; iii. 82. 65; Hdt. ii. 50. 14. Kühn. 425, 5.

78. *Deliberate well, therefore, before you engage in war at the instigation of others. We are still ready for a friendly arrangement, but shall know how to repel any attack.*

1. **ὡς οὐ περὶ βραχέων**: for ὡς περὶ οὐ βραχέων, from the reluctance to separate the prep. from its case. So ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον, in c. 63. 5; ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, c. 82. 20. See on c. 35. 10. The litotes also is thus enhanced. See on c. 5. 5. οὐ here, as applying to a single word, even after the imv. *Cf.* c. 82. 18; 140. 9; 141. 27. Kr. *Spr.* 67, 9, 2; Kühn. 513, 4. — 3. **προσθῆσθε**: *burden yourselves with. Cf.* c. 144. 3; ii. 37. 13; iv. 98. 16.

τὸν παράλογον κτέ.: see on c. 72. 8. On the subst., *miscalculation, mistake in judgment,* see on c. 65. 3; "how greatly one can deceive one's self." — 4. **προδιάγνωτε**: occurs again in v. 38. 19; probably also c. 91. 20; elsewhere only in later writers. — 5. **φιλεῖ**: *is wont;* in Thuc. in this sense

ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. ἰόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρό- 3
τερον ἔχονται, ὃ χρὴν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἅπτονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πω τοι- 4
αύτῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντες, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶντες, λέ-
γομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκῃ λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην· εἰ δὲ μή, θε-

only. *Cf.* c. 141. 28; ii. 62. 22; iii. 42. 5; 81. 23; iv. 28. 12; 125. 7; v. 70. 6; vi. 63. 10; vii. 79. 10; 80. 12; viii. 1. 30. So also Hdt. except in v. 5. 5. *Cf.* Lat. amare, Hor. *Car.* iii. 16. 10, *etc.* — **τύχας**: *chances*, which do not depend on human operation. — **τὰ πολλά**: adv. See on c. 13. 3. — **περιίστασθαι**: see on c. 76. 21. — **ὧν . . . κινδυνεύεται**: **ὧν** rel. to **τύχας**. Though only the first clause depends grammatically on **ὧν**, the second also stands in a like relation to the antecedent sentence. See on c. 68. 15. **ἀπέχομεν**, *sc.* **ἑκάτεροι**. **ἔσται** = **γενήσεται**, without definite subj., "how things will turn out, whether well or ill"; and this clause is subj. of **ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται**, which phrase is itself a combination of **ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἐστί** and **κινδυνεύεται** (see on c. 46. 1). *Cf.* ii. 35. 7.

7. **ἰόντες τε κτέ.**: "so it comes to pass that if men embark in war." **ἰέναι** is freq. in this connexion: c. 40. 6; 41. 12; 58. 9; 71. 12; 82. 14; 143. 15; v. 65. 30; vi. 63. 3. — 8. **ἔχονται**: *cf.* c. 49. 30; Hdt. iii. 72. 28. — **ὅ**: appears necessary in place of **ἃ** of the Mss., since **ἃ** would suggest a false reference to **ἔργων**, and **δρᾶν** would lose its characteristic meaning (see on c. 5. 12). The sing. is required by the manifest reference to the whole **τῶν ἔργων ἔχεσθαι** (c. 49. 30). Stahl, Jahrb. 1863, p. 411, thinks differently, but Cobet reads **δ**. See App. on c. 70. 7. — 9. **ἤδη**: belongs to **κακοπαθοῦντες**.

10. **οὔτ' αὐτοί**: the marked opposition requires the combination **οὔτε — οὔτε**; otherwise **οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὁρῶντες** would have been joined directly to **ὄντες**. After **ὁρῶντες** supply **ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντας**. *Cf.* c. 80. 2; v. 80. 11. — **λέγομεν**: = **κελεύομεν**. *Cf.* c. 131. 10; ii. 5. 21; 6. 7; 71. 23; iii. 3. 16. — 12. **σπονδάς**: without art. *Cf.* c. 53. 4; 67. 5; 71. 22. Sh. renders "not to be covenant-breakers." So the art. is omitted with other nouns which with verbs make established formulae; *e.g.* **γνώμην ποιεῖσθαι**, 'propose,' c. 128, 27; **γνώμην ἔχειν**, 'intend,' ii. 86. 17; **δίαιταν ἔχειν**, 'live,' c. 135. 8; **ταφὰς ποιεῖσθαι**, 'bury,' ii. 34. 2. — **τὰ διάφορα**: *cf.* c. 56. 2; 67. 14. — 13. **λύεσθαι**: = **διαλύεσθαι**, the mid. of reciprocal action. *Cf.* c. 140. 17; 145. 6; v. 80. 2. — **κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην**: see c. 140. 14; vii. 18. 14. — **εἰ δὲ μή**: so the best Mss. for **ἤ** of the others. Both expressions are nearly alike in meaning and use (*cf.* Soph. *Phil.* 1341; Lys. xxv. 14; Dem. 11. 8), but the fuller form seems better suited to the close of the speech. — **θεοὺς τοὺς ὁρκίους**: see on c. 1. 6.

οὺς τοὺς ὁρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύ-
15 νεσθαι πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτῃ ᾗ ἂν ὑφηγῆσθε."

79 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε 1
ξυμμάχων ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μεταστη-
σάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν
5 παρόντων. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι 2
ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα
εἶναι ἐν τάχει· παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐ-
τῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

80 "Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ὦ 1
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ,
ὥστε μήτε ἀπειρίᾳ ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν

— 15. **ἄρχοντας**: *ὑμᾶς* seems here purposely avoided, to maintain as long as possible the attitude of generality. Only in *ὑφηγῆσθε* the present case is referred to.

79. *In the Lacedaemonian assembly the majority is inclined to war. Archidamus comes forward in opposition.*

2. **τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**: *cf.* c. 38. 1; 66. 2; vi. 105. 15. — 3. **καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν**: the same order as in the former clause. For gen., see G. 171, 2; H. 742. — **μεταστησάμενοι**: *causing to withdraw. Cf.* v. 111. 9; Hdt. i. 89. 1; viii. 101. 7. Aeschin. III. 125, *μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας*. The corresponding intr. *μεταστῆναι*, in v. 111. 25; Soph. *Aj.* 750. — 4. **πάντας**: *i.e.* all the envoys of the allies and the Athenians. — **κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς**: so iv. 65. 2. *καθ' ἑαυτούς*, iv. 38. 18; vi. 13. 12.

5. **ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔφερον**: a metaphor from a road (iii. 24. 2). *Cf.* Hdt. i. 120. 12; vii. 6. 22; Soph. *O. C.* 1424. — 6. **ἀδικεῖν . . . ἤδη**: *that they were already in the wrong. Cf.* v. 30. 8. See on c. 67. 5. — **πολεμητέα**: see on c. 72. 4. — 7. **ἐν τάχει**: *with all possible speed. Cf.* c. 86. 13; 90. 31; ii. 86. 22, *etc.* — **Ἀρχίδαμος**; son of Zeuxidamus, succeeded his grandfather Leotychides in Ol. 77. 4 (B.C. 469); led the early invasions into Attica; and died Ol. 88. 2 (B.C. 427).

Speech of King Archidamus. Chaps. 80–85.

80. *Do not fancy that a war with the Athenians will be without danger; for in ships and money they are superior to you.*

2. **ὁρῶ**: *sc. ὁμοίως ἐμπείρους ὄντας*. See on c. 78. 10. — 3. **ἀπειρίᾳ . . . νομίσαντα**: for the change, see on c. 39. 2; 63. 7; 107. 26; iv. 69. 16. — **ἐπιθυμῆσαι**: the aor. with the neg. and in reference to the immediate case, "so that no one of you from inexperience covets the war." Still *μήτ' ἂν κτέ.* would have been more natural, 'will be likely to covet.' — **ἔργου**: often of war and battle, as in c. 105. 24; ii. 89. 42; iv. 14. 15. **ἀγαθὸν καὶ**

πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα.
εὕροιτε δ' ἂν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλεύεσθε οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. 2
πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἷόν τε ἐφ' ἕκαστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἳ γῆν τε ἑκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοι εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἑνί γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥᾳ- 3

ἀσφαλές neut. after ἔργου, though τόνδε in 5 goes back to πόλεμον. — 4. πολλοί: to desire war from inexperience belongs not so much to the mass of men as to the young. Therefore πολλοί with the Vat. Ms. rather than οἱ πολλοί. — 5. οὐκ ἄν . . . γενόμενον: *i.e.* ὅτι οὐκ ἂν . . . γένοιτο. For partic., *cf.* ii. 6. 14. — 6. σωφρόνως: *without passion, impartially.*

7. πρὸς . . . ἀστυγείτονας: these two nouns do not stand in the relation of whole to part, nor are they both parts of a whole; but they describe the characteristics of the enemies with whom the Lacedaemonians have had hitherto to contend; of course, however, in contrast to the Athenians; "against Peloponnesians and against near neighbours, *i.e.* against states without naval power, and against whom distant expeditions were not needed." The repeated art., therefore, which all good Mss. have, needs no defence. Sh. renders: "for though against the Peloponnesians, *in other words*, our borderers." He regards καί as *epexegetic*, and compares Dem. xxi. 196, τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσει καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. So Plat. *Gorg.* 472 b, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς. Dem. xviii. 156. See Munro on Lucr. iii. 993. — 8. παρόμοιος: not 'nearly like,' but 'like when placed side by side and compared.' Bonitz, *ibid.* p. 28. So c. 132. 20. See on c. 73. 26. — ἀλκή: in a material sense, as in iii. 30. 7; not, as in ii. 87. 21, in a moral sense. — διὰ ταχέων: *cf.* iii. 13. 14; iv. 8. 18; 96. 4; vi. 66. 10; viii. 101. 4. — ἐφ' ἕκαστα ἐλθεῖν: since the enemy is not at a distance, and can be reached by land. — 9. πρὸς ἄνδρας οἳ κτέ.: the antecedent is repeated in τούτους, 14, the attributes being accumulated before it. The same rhetorical turn in iii. 39. § 2. — ἑκὰς ἔχουσι: probably refers to the taunt of the Corinthians, c. 69. 23, but also to indicate the narrow range of the Lacedaemonian policy. — 10. θαλάσσης: often without art. unless a special sea is meant. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 2, 15. — 12. ὄχλῳ: *a population* (*cf.* vi. 17. 8), the complement of the three preceding nouns, which only by help of this can be employed in war. ὅπλα includes the equipment of forces of all kinds as well as of ships. — 13. ἑνί γε χωρίῳ; so viii. 40. 8, μιᾷ γε πόλει. *Cf.* vi. 20. 8, ὡς ἐν μιᾷ νήσῳ. — 14. πῶς χρὴ

δίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ' ἥσσους ἐσμέν· 4 εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἑτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν.

81 "Τάχ' ἄν τις θαρσοίη ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ 1 τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλη γῆ ἐστι πολλὴ ἧς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ θα- 2 λάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους 3 ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν, τὸ πλέον οὖσι νησιώταις. τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος;

. . . **ἐπειχθῆναι**: this form of rhetorical question occurs again in Thuc. only in vi. 38. 27. See Blass, *Att. Bered.* I. 215. — **ῥᾳδίως**: *lightly*, without serious consideration, temere. *Cf.* c. 73. 6. — 15. **πόλεμον ἄρασθαι**: "*to become involved in hostilities*, of either of the combatants; *πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι*, of the aggressors." Sh. — 16. **ἐπειχθῆναι**: intr., as in c. 85. 3; iii. 3. 14. In c. 82. 22 it is a true pass. of *ἐπείγειν*. The impf. mid. tenses are trans. in iii. 2. 14; iv. 5. 9; vi. 100. 5; viii. 9. 2; intr. in c. 93. 8; iv. 3. 4; vi. 32. 14.

17. **χρόνος ἐνέσται**: *in this time will be lost*. So *ἐγγίγνεται*, c. 113. 1; iv. 111. 4. — 18. **ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν κτέ.**: notice *ἀλλά* introducing both question and answer. *Cf.* vi. 38. § 5; Lys. XXIV. 24. — **τούτου ἐλλείπομεν**: *τούτου* is collective for *τῶν χρημάτων*, which must be understood also in acc. with *ἔχομεν* and *φέρομεν*. For *ἐλλείπειν*, *cf.* ii. 61. 20; Plat. *Phaedr.* 269 d. See App. — 19. **ἐν κοινῷ**: in aerario. *Cf.* c. 141. 11; with art., vi. 6. 29. — **ἑτοίμως**: *easily*, not 'willingly.' Pericles in c. 141. § 3 repeats this statement about the Peloponnesians. See Stahl, Jahrb. 1863, p. 459. — 20. **φέρομεν**: regularly used of taxes. *Cf.* c. 19. 6; 83. 3.

81. *And the means we have are not adapted for successful operations against them.*

1. **τάχ' ἄν τις κτέ.**: this objection is merely a new turn in the supposed dialogue, and therefore without conj. — **τοῖς ὅπλοις . . . πλήθει**: these words together denote a well-appointed military force. There is no special reference to the superiority of Spartan warfare. *πλῆθος* refers to the number of the Spartan allies, and does not, therefore, contradict c. 80. 12. — 2. **ὑπερφέρομεν**: with gen. = *διαφέρομεν*, in Thuc. only here. *Cf.* Hdt. ix. 96. 14; Soph. *O. T.* 381; Ar. *Eq.* 584. — **ἐπιφοιτῶντες**: *by repeated invasions*. — 4. **ἐπάξονται**: of ordinary importation *ἐσάγεσθαι* is used; but this verb denotes also the supply of need. *Cf.* vi. 99. 21; and *σῖτος ἔπακτός*, vi. 20. 20. — 5. **καὶ τούτοις**: as the Athenians themselves could be effectually harmed only by sea. — 6. **τὸ πλέον**:

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω. κἀν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα ὡς ταχὺ παυθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἢν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τέμωμεν· δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν· οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ.

82 "Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω τούς τε

cf. c. 49. 6, 12. — **τίς**: = *ποῖος*. *Cf.* Soph. *Tr.* 307; Dem. XXXVII. 54.

7. **ἀφαιρήσομεν**: *cf.* c. 134. 11; iii. 31. 8; v. 23. 25; 29. 15; vii. 13. 3. Cobet prefers *ὑφαιρεῖν*, per occasionem socios ad defectionem impellere. *Cf.* iii. 13. 33; 82. 17. — 8. **τὰ πλέω**: like other neut. adjs., *πολλά, μεγάλα, etc.*, often used with *βλάπτειν*. *Cf.* c. 68. 5; iii. 45. 22; 61. 15; 85. 7; iv. 41. 8; 46. 6; 64. 4; vi. 14. 8; 33. 17; 64. 9; vii. 27. 20; 40. 19; 68. 17; viii. 60. 6. *βλαψόμεθα* is here pass. *Cf.* c. 68. 18; vi. 64. 10. Kühn. 376, 4. — 9. **κἀν τούτῳ**: *and if things have turned out so.* The phrase (*cf.* c. 37. 15) is not temporal, but designates the position of things, corresponding to *ἐν ᾧ*. See on c. 39. 11; 42. 5; ii. 35. 9; vi. 55. 18. — **καταλύεσθαι**: *to settle differences.* See on c. 78. 13: more rarely *καταλύειν* (v. 23. 8; viii. 58. 28). *Cf.* iv. 18. 17; v. 15. 8; 17. 20; vi. 13. 15. So *καταλύειν τὸν πόλεμον*, c. 24. 19; ii. 29. 25; 95. 12; iv. 108. 39; v. 47. 18. — **καλόν**: *consistent with honour.* — 10. **ἄρξαι μᾶλλον**: *sc.* *ἢ ἀμύνασθαι*. But Kr. understands 'rather than the Athenians.'

ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι: this was, however, the prevailing impression at Sparta. See v. 14. § 3. — 12. **τέμωμεν**: St. has rightly restored this for *τάμωμεν* of the Mss., as the only Attic prose form. See Cobet, Mnem. 11, 376; Kr. *Spr.* 31, 13, 3. — **δέδοικα δὲ κτέ.**: Herbst thinks that this could have been regarded as one of *τὰ δέοντα* (c. 22. 5) only if it was written after the close of the whole war. See Philol. 38, 583. — 13. **εἰκός**: takes regularly the inf. aor. (never the fut.) where the probability of the occurrence of a fut. action is to be expressed. *Cf.* c. 121. 4; ii. 11. 33; 73. 6; iii. 10. 22; 40. 26; iv. 60. 15; 85. 28; v. 109. 7; vi. 11. 10; 36. 16. In iii. 13. 19 the pres. *ἔχειν* is required by the notion of duration. Herbst, *gegen Cobet*, p. 16. GMT. 23, 2, N. 2; Madv. *Synt.* § 172, Rem. 1; *Adv.* I. p. 156–177. — 14. **φρονήματι**: in Thuc. always *self-confidence, spirit.* *Cf.* ii. 43. 28; 61. 13; 62. 27; iii. 45. 17; iv. 80. 15; v. 40. 16; 43. 7; vi. 18. 22. In Hdt. only 'sentiment,' 'disposition.'

82. *We should employ some years on our preparations, and then make war upon them, if they do not listen to our reasonable demands.*

1. **οὐ μὴν οὐδέ**: see on c. 3. 17. — **ἀναισθήτως**: *with indifference.* *Cf.* c. 69. 14. This belongs both to *ἐᾶν* and

ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἐὰν βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ' ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν, κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι, ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα (ἀνεπίφθονον δέ, ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ Ἕλληνας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι), καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζώμεθα. καὶ ἢν μὲν ἐσακούσωσί τι πρεσβευομένων 2 ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἄριστα· ἢν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον ἤδη, ἢν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ'

to *μὴ καταφωρᾶν*, and *αὐτούς* stands at the beginning as obj. of both. The two clauses are joined as a whole by *τε καί*, expressing together the two aspects of the watchfulness recommended. See on c. 49. 22. — **2. μὴ καταφωρᾶν**: *to shut your eyes to*, = a strong *περιορᾶν*, and, like *ἐᾶν*, dependent on *οὐδὲ κελεύω*. — **4. αἰτιᾶσθαι**: abs., *make complaints*. *Cf.* c. 140. 18; vii. 14. 19. — **δηλοῦντας**: with *πόλεμον*, *threatening*; with *ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν* (c. 71. 5), *letting them know*. — **5. κἂν τούτῳ**: here temporal, interim; not as in c. 81. 9. — **καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν κτέ.**: *i.e.* our whole power, including the aid of allies and other resources; here *ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ* answers to *καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκποριζώμεθα* in 10; where *αὐτῶν* = *τῶν ξυμμάχων* (so St., B.) is to be preferred to *αὑτῶν*, since Thuc. has nowhere else used *αὑτοῦ* for the refl. of first pers., and *τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν* has already been spoken of. See Hünnekes, *Quaestiones Thucydideae*, p. 5. After the parenthesis we have by a slight anacoluthon the independent subjv. *ἐκποριζώμεθα* for an inf. depending on *κελεύω*. — **8. ἀνεπίφθονον**: see on c. 75. 15. — **9. ἐπιβουλευόμεθα**: constructed with *ἡμεῖς*, where we should expect *ἐπιβουλεύονται* with *ὅσοι* (so iii. 67. 33; Dem. iv. 12; Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 1. 3), and *ἡμᾶς* is to be supplied with *προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι* in 10, the chief stress lying on the partic., which alone could be *ἐπίφθονον*. *Cf.* c. 23. 25; ii. 61. 3. — **11. ἐκποριζώμεθα**: *take pains to gain and use*. *Cf.* c. 125. 6; vi. 83. 9.

ἐσακούσωσι: *give ear, comply*. *Cf.* c. 126. 3; iii. 4. 3; iv. 110. 1; v. 17. 10; 45. 18; 50. 1; viii. 31. 10; with gen. of pers. in v. 22. 6 only. The aor. subjv., answering to the Lat. fut. exact., is the reading of most Mss. and to be preferred to the pres. Even in c. 126. 3, to which St. refers, Vat. reads the aor. — **12. διελθόντων . . . τριῶν**: the former *καί* = *even*; the latter gives a choice, where we use *or*. Like this passage is Plat. *Phaed.* 63 e, *καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς πίνειν*; 69 b, *καὶ προσγιγνομένων καὶ ἀπογιγνομένων*. In Xen. *Re. Eq.* 4. 4 we have the second only, *ἀμάξας τεττάρας καὶ πέντε*. *Cf.* *An.* iv. 7. 10. In v. 10. 44, *καὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς προσβαλόντα*.

αὐτούς. καὶ ἴσως ὁρῶντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τήν τε παρασκευὴν 3
καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἂν
εἴκοιεν, καὶ γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων
ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὔπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι. μὴ γὰρ 4
ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὅμηρον ἔχειν καὶ οὐχ
ἧσσον ὅσῳ ἄμεινον ἐξείργασται· ἧς φείδεσθαι χρὴ ὡς
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς
ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμ- 5
μάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε
ὅπως μὴ αἴσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πρά-
ξομεν. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἷόν 6

14. **καὶ ἴσως**: significantly introduces the probable consequences of the action of the Lacedaemonians. — **ἡμῶν**: for the force of the pron. thus placed, see on c. 30. 14; 71. 15. — 15. **τοὺς λόγους . . . ὑποσημαίνοντας**: opp. to 4, *μὴ πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας*. When due preparation has been made, there will be no reason for holding back. **ὑποσημαίνειν** again in vi. 32. 3, hardly distinguishable in meaning from the simple verb. **αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα**, *in harmony therewith*. *Cf.* ii. 72. 2, *ἣν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς λόγοις*; vii. 61. 8.

18. **μὴ γὰρ . . . ἔχειν**: Cl. considers **ἔχειν** here to have a fut. reference, comparing c. 93. 13; 127. 4 (where v. H. and Cobet insert **ἄν**); ii. 84. 8; iv. 127. 4 (where v. H. and Cobet read the fut.). But it is better to consider with St. *Qu. Gr.* p. 8, that **ἔχειν** is used because the Attic country might be regarded before occupation as a pledge for their good behaviour. — **ὅμηρον**: (Schol., *ἐνέχυρον τὸ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης παρεχόμενον*) probably here neut. subst., as often in later Greek. *Cf.* Polyb. iii. 52. 5. But not so in Plat. *Theaet.* 202 e, *ὥσπερ ὁμήρους ἔχομεν τοῦ λόγου τὰ παραδείγματα*. — **οὐχ ἧσσον**: (see on c. 8. 1) = *τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον*. For *οὐ* after imv., see on c. 78. 1. — 19. **ἧς**: *but this*; position and force as in c. 35. 15; 74. 11. — **ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον**: see on c. 63. 5. Here in temporal sense, *as long as possible*. *Cf.* c. 2. 19; 18. 5. — 20. **ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντες**: *cf.* vii. 67. 22. — 21. **ἀληπτοτέρους**: *cf.* c. 37. 20.

22. **ἐπειχθέντες**: pass. See on c. 80. 16. *Cf.* Hom. Λ 157; Φ 362; *ν* 115; *ο* 297. — 23. **ὅπως μὴ κτέ.**: see on c. 19. 4. Kr. and B. take **πράξομεν** act., and render 'that we may not bring about a more disgraceful and difficult state of things for Peloponnesus.' But the use of Thuc. (vi. 13. 17; 75. 17; vii. 67. 26; 71. 5; viii. 95. 28) requires here also the intr. meaning, "that it turn not out for us as regards Peloponnesus in a more disgraceful and difficult fashion"; **ἀπορώτερον**, for not, like the Athenians, *ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δεήσει ἐπαξόμεθα* (c. 81. 3). Kr. is probably right in understanding 'than for the Athenians as regards Attica'; but Bonitz, *ibid.* (p. 29), supplies 'than now,' which would require **ἔτι** with the comp. See Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 322.

τε καταλῦσαι· πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ' ὅ τι χωρήσει, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι.

83 "Καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιᾷ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ 1 ἐπελθεῖν δοκείτω εἶναι. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους 2 χρήματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον, ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἠπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους. πορισώμεθα οὖν 3 πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλέ-

25. **πόλεμον δὲ . . . τῶν ἰδίων**: "when the whole confederacy begins a war, not for common but for individual interests," *i.e.* for the Megarians and Corinthians. *Cf.* Dem. v. 19, *φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον.* — **ὃν . . . χωρήσει**: prolepsis. *Cf.* c. 61. 2; 67. 4; 72. 8; 78. 3. The act. form of the *simple* fut. only here and Hdt. v. 89. 13; viii. 68. 20; of compounds freq. — **27. θέσθαι**: answers to *ἐγκλήματα καταλῦσαι*, 24, *bring the war to an end with honour. Cf.* c. 31. 15; viii. 84. 19. See on c. 25. 2.

83. *But most of all should we take thought for ways and means.*

1. **ταχύ**: used as adv. ten times by Thuc., who has *ταχέως* only once (c. 72. 6), but more often periphrases like *διὰ ταχέων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, κατὰ τάχος.* — 2. **ἐπελθεῖν**: with dat., c. 137. 24; ii. 11. 22; iii. 11. 13; 56. 13; iv. 1. 7; 33. 3; 44. 12; 61. 12; vi. 34. 50; 68. 19; 92. 6; with *πρός*, c. 86. 20; ii. 65. 46; vi. 31. 45; with acc., ii. 39. 12. — 3. **χρήματα φέροντες**: from its position = *καὶ ταῦτα χρήματα φέροντες.* This Sparta could not claim. — **οὐχ ὅπλων . . . δαπάνης**: gens. dependent on *ἔστιν* in pregnant sense, *not so much a matter of arms as of money. Cf.* c. 142. 24. — 4. **ἄλλα**: has the same effect as *ἤ* (see on c. 9. 21), for the expression *οὐ τὸ πλέον* has really lost its comp. force. *Cf.* ii. 43. 16. — **δι' ἣν**: *in virtue of which only* arms are of service. *Cf.* iii. 13. 26; 39. 43; vii. 68. 18; Dem. i. 12, *τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν.* But Dem. viii. 10, *τὸν τρόπον δι' οὗ τὰ πράγματα ἀπολώλεκεν. Cf.* Dem. v. 22; vi. 6; Hom. A 72. — **ἄλλως τε καί**: seldom with a noun without a partic. *Cf.* Plat. *Crit.* 50 b; *Symp.* 173 c. The dat. **ἠπειρώταις** is related loosely to *ἔστιν, for a land power.*

6. **αὐτήν**: *i.e. τὴν δαπάνην.* — 7. **ἐπαιρώμεθα**: pass., *be pushed on, impelled. Cf.* c. 42. 7; 81. 11; 84. 9; 120. 20; iii. 38. 12; 45. 3; iv. 108. 16; 121. 1; vii. 13. 12. But used also intr.: 'be proud,' c. 25. 20; iv. 18. 17; vi. 11. 23. — **οἵπερ δὲ καὶ κτέ.**: *καί* is taken, as often, into the rel. sentence, though really belonging to the demonstrative. See on c. 74. 25. Here it is repeated with *οὗτοι. τῶν ἀποβαινόντων* depends on *τῆς αἰτίας, responsibility*, and this on *τὸ πλέον.* On the order, see on c. 25. 21. — 8. **ἐπ' ἀμφότερα**: with *τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, for good or for evil. Cf.*

ον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν.

84 "Καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα 1
ἡμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε· σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἂν
παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἐλευ-
θέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα. καὶ 2
δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι· μόνοι
γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφο-
ραῖς ἧσσον ἑτέρων εἴκομεν, τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυ-

ii. 11. 37; iv. 17. 16. — **οὗτοι**: emphatic resumption of the rel. clause though in first pers., *and we who are sure to have . . . let us . . .* See on c. 33. 8. Sh. compares Dem. XIX. 69, and in Lat. Plaut. *Ep.* iii. 1, 9; *Rud.* 1195, 1292. Kr. *Spr.* 63, 1, 2. — 9. **τι αὐτῶν**: *sc.* **τῶν ἀποβαινόντων**: a litotes in which the **τι**, apparently insignificant (see on c. 34. 8), implies something considerable.

84. *The circumspection with which we are reproached has so far been useful to us; we should adhere to it still, and not underrate our opponents.*

1. **τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον**: see on c. 36. 3. — **μέμφονται**: see c. 69. § 4; 70. § 2. — 2. **ἡμῶν**: possessive gen. with δ, which they find fault with *in us.* Kühn. 417, note 9; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 10, 2. — **σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ . . . νεμόμεθα**: we have here two reasons, united as complements by **τε καί**, why the Lacedaemonians need not be ashamed of **τὸ βραδύ**: (1) because the opposite behaviour (**σπεύδοντες**) is sure to lead to entanglements of which the issue cannot be seen; (2) because they owe to it their uninterrupted (**διὰ παντός**) freedom and renown. To this is added in § 2 the new remark, that this despised slowness is at bottom nothing else than considerate discretion (**σωφροσύνη**), which shows itself (1) in the absence of elation at success and of despair at failure; (2) in the fact that neither praise nor blame moves them to act in a way that their judgment does not approve. — 4. **καὶ δύναται κτέ.**: Cl. explains **δύνασθαι** here 'to have the same meaning,' valere, whether in words or facts, comparing c. 141. 6; iii. 46. 10; iv. 95. 2; vi. 36. 9; 40. 16. But in all these there is no **εἶναι**; and vii. 58. 13, where **εἶναι** occurs, is now bracketed by Cl. himself and St. It is probable that in connexion with **μάλιστα**, 'approximately' (c. 13. 11), it means *it may turn out* to be: "the policy which they condemn may well be the truest good sense and discretion." J. — **ἔμφρων**: *truly rational;* in Thuc. only here; mostly poetic; *cf.* Aesch. *Prom.* 848; Soph. *Aj.* 306; Pind. *Ol.* IX. 80. — 6. **δι' αὐτό**: *i.e.* **διὰ τὸ βραχὺ καὶ μέλλον**; for the four following manifestations of **σωφροσύνη** all imply full consideration. — 7. **ἧσσον ἑτέρων**: = **ἥκιστα**. *Cf.* vi. 9. 6. So **μᾶλλον ἑτέρων** or **ἑτέρου** = **μάλιστα**. *Cf.* c. 85. 5· 138. 10; ii. 15. 1; 60. 24; iv. 3. 17; vi. 16. 1; vii. 29. 29. For **ἕτεροι** includes *all* others. — **τῶν ἐξοτρυνόντων**: depends on **ἡδονῇ**; *i.e.* by weakly allowing ourselves to be misled by the

νόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἤν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παρ-
10 *οξύνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. πολε-* 3
μικοί τε καὶ εὔβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐ-
ψυχία, εὔβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπερο-
ψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ
15 *ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν*

pleasure of hearing ourselves praised. *Cf.* ii. 37. 12; iii. 38. 31; 40. 7. — 8. **παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν**: *against our own judgment.* *Cf.* iii. 38. 11. — 9. **καὶ ἤν τις ἄρα**: *and if any one should actually, etc.*, referring to c. 69 and c. 71. § 3; and because of this distinct reference we have the empiric aor. *ἀνεπείσθημεν*, which includes all similar cases. See on c. 69. 31. — **ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ**: *cf.* c. 69. 34. — 10. **οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες**: opp. to *ἡδονῇ*; *i.e.* we are just as little influenced by anger at their reproaches. *ἀναπείθειν* is stronger than the simple verb, implying an almost violent conversion from previous policy. *Cf.* c. 126. 12; ii. 14. 1; iii. 70. 23; viii. 52. 2.

11. **τε καί**: not correlative, but *τε* is inferential, *and so.* *πολεμικοί* and *εὔβουλοι* imply the just-mentioned qualities in action. These are referred to *τὸ εὔκοσμον* (like *ἔμφρων*, a word specially chosen for this specific behaviour), *i.e.* *σωφροσύνη*, which is based on deliberateness. — **τὸ μέν**: answers to *πολεμικοί*. The filiation is traced in reverse order: from *σωφροσύνη* comes *αἰδώς*, and from *αἰδώς* comes *εὐψυχία*, which is the basis of *τὸ πολεμικόν*. *σωφροσύνη* is identified with *τὸ εὔκοσμον*, and *αἰσχύνη* (properly the shame which follows a wrong action) only in this place with *αἰδώς* (properly the shame which prevents a wrong action). For *εὐψυχία*, *cf.* c. 121. 16; ii. 87. 19; vi. 72. 22; and *τὸ εὔψυχον*, ii. 39. 7; iv. 126. 38; Aesch. *Pers.* 326; Eur. *Med.* 403; Plat. *Legg.* 795 d; *Tim.* 25 b. — 13. **εὔβουλοι**: implies consideration and reasonable decision. This is traced to its source in *σωφροσύνη* by the partic. *παιδευόμενοι* with its triple result: (*a*) *ἀμαθέστερον . . . ὑπεροψίας*; (*b*) *σωφρονέστερον . . . ἀνηκουστεῖν*; (*c*) *καὶ μὴ . . . νομίζειν δὲ κτέ.* It is *σωφροσύνη* which fosters the habit of subordination even in severe trials, and of vigorous action rather than of idle talk. — **ἀμαθέστερον . . . ὑπεροψίας**: for the order, see on c. 32. 8; = *ἢ ὥστε ὑπερορᾶν τοὺς νόμους.* This is the theoretical side: "not so highly trained that we fancy ourselves wiser than the law." *Cf.* Eur. *Or.* 417. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15. 12, *τὸ τῶν νόμων σοφώτερον ζητεῖν εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις νόμοις ἀπαγορεύεται.* In *ἀμαθέστερον* is an ironical admission of the charge of *ἀμαθία* in c. 68. 4. — 14. **ξὺν χαλεπότητι**: belongs to *παιδευόμενοι* repeated, *in strict discipline.* — **σωφρονέστερον . . . ἀνηκουστεῖν**: this is the practical side; "not so presumptuous as to refuse obedience to the law." For const., see H. 954; Kr. *Spr.* 49, 4. *Cf.* viii. 46. 34. — 15. **καὶ μὴ . . . ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ κτέ.**: and so trained "that we do not, through over-sagac-

ὄντες τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ τάς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς· ἀεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ 4
20 βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρασκευαζώμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἁμαρτησομένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων, πολύ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται.

ity in unprofitable accomplishments, disparage in clever speeches our enemy's resources, and then when it comes to action make our advance with no corresponding vigour, but are convinced, *etc.*" See Grote's analysis of this speech, V. c. 48, p. 351. **τὰ ἀχρεῖα**, chiefly of rhetorical artifices. **ξυνετοὶ ὄντες**, subord. to **μεμφόμενοι**, expressing the means. *Cf.* c. 31. 5; 67. 6; 75. 11. **ἐπεξιέναι**, abs., used with **ἔργῳ** also in c. 120. 28; v. 9. 41. — 17. **τὰς διανοίας**: pl. as c. 144. 5; iii. 82. 22; vi. 11. 23; Lys. XXIV. 16: *designs, projects*, the results of **διάνοια**, c. 138. 2; vi. 15. 15. — 18. **παραπλησίους**: only here of two terminations; *sc.* **ταῖς ἡμετέραις**, therefore not to be disparaged. — **καὶ τὰς . . . διαιρετάς**: referring to c. 69. 25, **βούλεσθε . . . καταστῆναι**. We have learned "that the chances which may occur do not admit of distinct definition by argument," *i.e.* before they occur. With this is naturally connected what follows, § 4, "let us always assume prudent counsels on the part of our enemies, and prepare ourselves actively to meet them, not building our hopes on their mistakes; for this would be to make definite assumptions about accidental circumstances." See App.

19. **ὡς πρὸς εὖ . . . ἐναντίους**: Kr. *Spr.* 68, 8, states the rule: when a prep. phrase (*a*) is attended by an illustration (*b*) with **ὡς, ὥσπερ**, the prep. is used with both (*a*) and (*b*) when (*b*) follows (as in c. 85. 9), but only with (*b*) when (*b*) stands first, as here, iv. 41. 6, and vi. 50. 20. For other instances of a prep. not repeated, *cf.* c. 21. 5; 28. 6; 69. 32; 91. 20. — 20. **παρασκευαζώμεθα**: the subjv., which the best Mss. have, suitably follows up the declaration of Spartan principles with an exhortation (but Arn., Kr., Sh. read the indic. on account of **ἀεί**). The same connexion of thought is shown also by the repeated **δεῖ**. — 22. **προνοουμένων**: usually mid. in Attic; but act., iii. 38. 28; 58. 11. — 23. **πολύ τε διαφέρειν κτέ.**: here the marked difference of national traits, insisted on by the Corinthians in c. 69, is denied. — 24. **ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις**: *in the severest school.* J. The words **ταῦτας . . . μελέτας** of c. 85. 1 show that this expression refers to the peculiar Spartan training, especially to its suppression of the individual will; (*cf.* 14) "the man who is trained under the strictest discipline," so that no choice is left to his own will. *Cf.*

85 "Ταύτας οὖν ἃς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν με- 1
λέτας καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν μὴ πα-
ρῶμεν, μηδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ
πολλῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης
βουλεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον 2
ἑτέρων διὰ ἰσχύν. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε
μὲν περὶ τῆς Ποτειδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμα-
χοί φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν
δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον
ὡς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι. παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον
ἅμα. ταῦτα γὰρ κράτιστα βουλεύσεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις
φοβερώτατα."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοιαῦτα εἶπε· παρελθὼν δὲ 3
Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, εἷς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὤν, ἔλεξε
ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὧδε·

ii. 64. 9, *φέρειν χρὴ τὰ δαιμόνια ἀναγ-
καίως*: *i.e.* with submission to the inevitable. *Cf.* c. 70, 71. See App.

85. *Try, therefore, first to gain redress of grievances from the Athenians by peaceful means; but let us not neglect meanwhile to prepare for war.*

1. ταύτας ... μελέτας: the rel. clause interposed renders the art. unnecessary. *Cf.* Xen. *An.* i. 5. 16. Kühn. 465, note 6 a. — **3. ἐπειχθέντες**: *too hastily.* See on c. 80. 16. — **4. σωμάτων**: *lives*; opp. to *χρήματα*, as c. 141. 18; ii. 53. 7. — **5. βουλεύσωμεν**: Thuc. uses the act. and mid. for the most part in the same sense: in pres., 'deliberate'; in aor., 'decide.' *Cf.* c. 97. 2; 132. 28; ii. 6. 9; iii. 28. 5; iv. 15. 3; 41. 1; v. 87. 3; vi. 39. 5; viii. 53. 24. Probably only in iii. 42. 25 it means 'give advice.'

6. ἑτέρων: see on c. 84. 7; here for *ἢ ἑτέροις*, as ii. 15. 1; vi. 16. 1. H. 643 b; Kühn. 543, 2 c. See on c. 71. 9. — **πέμπετε**: the imv. pres. when the aor. would be expected, acc. to the usage noted on c. 26. 1. For the epanaphora, *cf.* c. 28. 8; 30. 17; 126. 40. — 8. **αὐτῶν**: *of themselves.* *Cf.* iv. 60. 14. — **9. οὐ πρότερον**: *sc.* *πρὶν ἂν αἱ δίκαι δικασθῶσιν.* — **10. ἰέναι**: in pregnant sense. See on c. 78. 7. Contrast the advice of the Corinthians, c. 71. 17. — **11. κράτιστα καὶ φοβερώτατα**: properly pred. to *ταῦτα*, but in effect adv. See on c. 43. 10.

14. Σθενελαΐδας: the ephor who now comes forward represents the jealous and encroaching attitude of that magistracy towards the conservatism of the kings. — **15. ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις**: *i.e.* in the assembly. *Cf.* Dem. VIII. 27, 74 (*ἐν ὑμῖν*); Plat. *Legg.* 886 e (*ἐν ἀσεβέσιν ἀνθρώποις*). Kr. and v. H. bracket the words. On the character and connexion of the speech of Archidamus, see App.

86 "Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ 1
γιγνώσκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἀν-
τεῖπον ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ
τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο
ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας
ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηνται. ἡμεῖς δὲ 2
ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἢν
σωφρονῶμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλή-
σομεν τιμωρεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν.
ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, 3
ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ
καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ
παντὶ σθένει. καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλεύεσθαι ἀδικου- 4

SPEECH OF THE EPHOR STHENELAIDAS. Chap. 86.

86. *In view of the evident wrong of the Athenians, further discussion would be out of place, and war should immediately be decided on.*

1. **οὐ γιγνώσκω**: *I cannot understand.* *Cf.* c. 126. 21; ii. 40. 7; iv. 50. 9, an affectation of simplicity. The position of *τοὺς πολλούς* indicates the speaker's sense of weariness. — 2. **ἀντεῖπον**: followed by neg. See on c. 77. 13. — 3. **ἀδικοῦσι**: see on c. 67. 5. — 4. **καίτοι**: *and yet*, quamquam; introduces a confident refutation. — **εἰ . . . ἐγένοντο**: referring to what is a fact. *Cf.* c. 33. 8; 76. 8. — 7. **καὶ τότε . . . ἐσμεν**: by a sort of zeugma *ἦμεν* is to be supplied with *τότε*. *Cf.* iii. 40. 5; vi. 60. 13. — **καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους**: this noun by its position is made so prominent (see on c. 32. 17) that it is not repeated in the dat. (with *τιμωρεῖν*) in the second clause. — **ἢν σωφρονῶμεν**: see on c. 40. 8. — 9. **οἱ δ' . . . πάσχειν**: *sc. σύμμαχοι*; connected with the preceding in parataxis: 'nor will we postpone helping them, since they have no longer postponement of ill-treatment." *μέλλειν*, in sense of 'postpone,' regularly has the pres. inf. The conjecture of Hünnekes, *οἵ γ'*, in close connection with *τιμωρεῖν*, is not improbable.

10. **ἄλλοις μὲν κτέ.**: refers chiefly to c. 80. § 3, 4, of the speech of Archidamus. — 11. **παραδοτέα**: and the following pl. verbals, as in c. 72. 4; 79. 6; 88. 2. GMT. 114, 2; H. 635 a. — 12. **οὐδὲ διακριτέα**: the verbal is from *διακρίνεσθαι, dispute.* *Cf.* v. 79. 15. — **μὴ λόγῳ . . . βλαπτομένους**: *μή*, not *οὐ*, since the neg. is determined by the imv. force of the verbal *διακριτέα*. As to the acc. *αὐτούς, sc. ἡμᾶς* with the verbal, which = *δεῖ διακρίνεσθαι*, see G. 281, 2; H. 991; Kühn. 427, note 2; Kr. *Spr.* 56, 18, 3. *Cf.* viii. 65. 14.

14. **καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς κτέ.**: in answer to

μένους μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλεύεσθαι. ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐᾶτε μείζους γίγνεσθαι, μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας."

87 Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέξας ἐπεψήφιζεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος ὢν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δέ (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώσκειν τὴν βοὴν ὁποτέρα μείζων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερῶς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὁρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν· "Ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον," δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, "ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ

c. 85. § 1, 2. — 19. **καταπροδιδῶμεν**: *be guilty of betraying*. For the force of *κατα-*, *cf.* iii. 63. 14; 109. 18; iv. 10. 10; vii. 48. 26. — 20. **ἐπίωμεν πρός**: see on c. 83. 2. But Cobet reads *ἐπί*.

87. *The Lacedaemonian assembly votes against the Athenians. The decree of the allies is adjourned to a later meeting.*

1. **ἐπεψήφιζεν**: applied to the putting of a question to vote at Sparta as well as at Athens. *Cf.* ii. 24. 6; vi. 14. 3; viii. 15. 7. The impf. inchoative (*he proceeded to* —), as c. 26. 23; 27. 2; 46. 2. The addition **ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν** only here, but perhaps confirmed by Lucian's imitation, *Tim.* 44, *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπεψήφισε*. The words are bracketed by St. and v. H. after Kr., who quotes Plat. *Gorg.* 474 a, *ἐπιψηφίζειν τοὺς παρόντας*, for the usual Attic expression.

2. **ὁ δὲ κτέ.**: this is the fullest notice we have of the process at Sparta. See Schömann, *Ant.* I. p. 236. The use of *ὁ δέ* here without change of subj., assumes the occurrence of the first voting by *βοή*, so that after *ἐπεψήφιζε κτέ.* we must supply *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπεψηφίζοντο*. — **κρίνουσι γάρ κτέ.**: similar parenthesis in c. 104. 5; iii. 3. 1; 52. 14. — 4. **μείζων**: *louder*, as from more voices. *ἐστί* or *εἴη* must be supplied. For a similar omission of finite verb in indir. question, *cf.* iv. 40. 8; viii. 92. 58. — 5. **ὁρμῆσαι**: trans., as c. 127. 11; ii. 20. 13. The obj. is *αὐτούς*; he desired to encourage the war party by the sense of their majority, and to show the others how much they were outnumbered. — 6. **λελύσθαι . . . ἀδικεῖν**: as the Corinthians had asserted, c. 67. 5. — 7. **ἀναστήτω ἐς**: *i.e.* *ἀναστήτω καὶ ἴτω ἐς*. *Cf.* c. 101. 7; vii. 49. 10; viii. 45. 1. G. 191, N. 6; H. 788. — 8. **δείξας . . . αὐτοῖς**: parenthetical insertion in the narrative. *Cf.* c. 136. 18; 137. 27; Hdt. viii. 137. 22; Isocr. XII. 215; Isae. II. 12; Dem. XXI. 116; Aeschin.

δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα." ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν, καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ λελύσθαι. προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἣν δοκῇ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες. ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει *

3 4 5 6

II. 43; Cic. *de Fin.* v. 3. 7. — 9. **ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα**: adopted here by Cl. for *ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα* after the analogy of *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα*, vii. 37. 9; opp. to *ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον*.

διέστησαν: in literal sense; the figurative in c. 15. 16; 18. 28. — 11. **προσκαλέσαντές τε**: *and so* (c. 67. 3; 76. 16; 78. 7) *calling in*, since, c. 79. 3, *μετεστήσαντο πάντας*. — **εἶπον**: with *ὅτι δοκοῖεν* and *βούλεσθαι*. *Cf.* ii. 80. 6, 10; iii. 2. 12, 15; 3. 12, 14; iv. 46. 18, 20; v. 61. 9, 11. Kühn. 550, note 3. — 13. **τοὺς πάντας . . . ἐπαγαγεῖν**: implies a general convocation of the allies, since the invitation of the Corinthians (c. 67. 3) and of the Lacedaemonians (c. 67. 9) had been addressed only to particular states. This purpose is carried out, c. 119. § 1, with the formal expression *ψῆφον ἐπάγειν* (with dat., c. 125. 3). *Cf.* iv. 74. 15, *ψῆφον διενεγκεῖν* of the act of voting; pass., Xen. *An.* vii. 7. 57, *οὕτω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο περὶ φυγῆς*. — 14. **κοινῇ**: belongs both to *βουλευσάμενοι* and to *τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται*.

16. **ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον**: *cf.* c. 72. 3. Thuc. avoids digressions which would not elucidate his main subject, perhaps in intentional divergence from the practice of Hdt. — 17. **χρηματίσαντες**: of public affairs, v. 5. 2; 61. 6; vi. 62. 18. The mid. is used mostly of mercantile business. *Cf.* vii. 13. 13. The narrative in § 5 is continued at c. 118. § 3, *αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις κτέ.*, being here interrupted by the detailed account of what is called, c. 23. 23, *ἀληθεστάτη μὲν λόγῳ δὲ ἀφανεστάτη πρόφασις τοῦ πολέμου*. — **διαγνώμη**: used only by Thuc. of Attic writers. *Cf.* iii. 42. 1; 67. 33 (c. 118. 18, *διέγνωστο*). — 18. **τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι**: this explanatory clause is quite in place, considering the importance of the subject, and is not to be bracketed with Kr., St., and v. H. It is rather confirmed than rendered doubtful by the repetition in c. 88. 1. For the gen. inf. as appos., see Kühn. 402 d. — **ἐν τῷ . . . δεκάτῳ**: these words are grammatically connected with *τῶν . . . προκεχωρηκυιῶν*, the pf. expressing with *ἐν*, instead of the expected *ἐς*, the period reached, = *ἐς τὸ ἔτος προκεχωρηκυιῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτει οὐσῶν*. See Kr. *Spr.* 68, 12, 2 for instances of the pf. thus used with *ἐν*. P. prefers to connect *ἐν ἔτει* with *ἐγένετο* (with which, as Cl. admits, its position shows that it was intended

καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντοντίδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυι-
ῶν, αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

88 Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύ- 1
σθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων
πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς
89 Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ 1
τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὐξήθησαν· ἐπειδὴ 2
Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ

to be connected in sense) understanding εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος with the partic. — 19. **τριακοντοντίδων**: for the form, see on c. 23. 19. — 20. **αἳ ἐγένοντο κτέ.**: see c. 23. 20; 115. § 1.

88. *The real reason of the war was the fear the Lacedaemonians felt of the growing power of the Athenians.*

1. **ἐψηφίσαντο δέ**: a resumption of what precedes with δέ epexegetic, the verb pointing on to the reason following (**οὐ τοσοῦτον κτέ.**), as the chief contents of the chapter. — 2. **οὐ τοσοῦτον — ὅσον**: = "less — than." See on c. 9. 2; 11. 1. — 3. **φοβούμενοι . . . μή**: see on c. 72. 8; 78. 3; 82. 26. — 4. **δυνηθῶσιν**: the aor. stands to **δύνασθαι** as **ἰσχῦσαι** (c. 3. 8) to **ἰσχύειν**; and so **ἐπὶ μεῖζον**. *Cf.* c. 10. 20; 21. 3; iv. 117. 12; viii. 24. 22; 74. 12. Thuc. very rarely, if ever, uses the *opt.* with **μή** after verbs of *fear*. We have thus again stated the **ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ** of c. 23. § 6, which also speaks of the Athenians as **φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις**.

HISTORY OF THE GROWING POWER OF THE ATHENIANS FROM THE BATTLE OF MYCALE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, B.C. 479–431. Chaps. 89–118.

This period is called by the Greek grammarians **ἡ πεντηκονταετία** or **ἡ πεντηκονταετηρίς**.

89. *Capture of Sestos. The rebuilding of Athens begun.*

1. **οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι κτέ.**: these words introduce the events between the retirement of the Persians and the transfer of the hegemony to the Athenians, B.C. 476, c. 89–96. — 2. **ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα**: *i.e.* not of set purpose but by the course of events they found themselves in such circumstances that they had to take the hegemony. *Cf.* ii. 36. 15; 56. 12; iii. 49. 3. Antiphon, VI. 20. To the history of this **αὐξάνεσθαι** Thuc. passes in c. 97. 3 with the words **τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον**, which introduce the subsequent political and military enterprises deliberately carried out by the Athenians to the beginning of the war. See on ii. 36. 16, and Herbst, Philol. 24, p. 725 ff. — **ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι κτέ.**: following **τοιῷδε** without conj. *Cf.* c. 128. 7; ii. 34. 3; 75. 24; iii. 20. 13; 21. 2; 52. 4; 92. 3; 97. 2; 104. 5; iv. 46. 16; 67. 11; 90. 6; 100. 8; v. 45. 6; 71. 2; vi. 46. 12; 64. 14; 88. 2; viii. 50. 5; 69. 5; 104. 1. With **γάρ** only in ii. 20. 3; v. 68. 9; viii. 73. 3; 84. 2. **τρόπῳ τοιῷδε** is resumed in c. 96. 1 with **τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ**. — 3. **καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ**

καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ καταφυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους· *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἷλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, **καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι 3 ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξ-

πεζῷ: *i.e.* at Salamis and Plataea. — 5. διεφθάρησαν: see Hdt. ix. 100–105. — 6. τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ: *cf.* ii. 34. 14; iii. 113. 10. — 7. ἀπεχώρησαν: see Hdt. ix. 114. 6.

8. καὶ οἱ . . . ξύμμαχοι: these were the Greeks of the Asiatic coast, who, on the appearance of the Hellenic fleet, had declared themselves independent and had become *de facto* allies of the Athenians. "Considering the reserved attitude of the Lacedaemonian, and the relatively private character of the Athenian, undertaking, we cannot think here of any *formal* reception into the Hellenic alliance." Kirchhoff, *Der delische Bund.* Hermes, 11, p. 9. See App. — 9. ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες: at and after the battle of Mycale. Hdt. ix. 103 ff. The attrib. partic. placed after its subst., as c. 11. 19. — 10. ὑπομείναντες: opp. to ἀπεχώρησαν, 7, *keeping their ground.* *Cf.* c. 76. 3. — ἐπολιόρκουν: impf.; *cf.* c. 26. 23; 87. 1. See Hdt. ix. 114–118. — Μήδων ἐχόντων: the standing expression. *Cf.* c. 94. 6; 98. 1; 103. 10. — 11. ἐπιχειμάσαντες: so the capture of the town took place in the spring of 478. See Ullrich, *Die hellen. Kriege,* p. 41. — αὐτήν: τὴν Σηστόν. Schol., Σηστὸς ἡ πόλις λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς καὶ θηλυκῶς. Masc., Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 5, 6; Dem. XXIII. 158. — 12. ὡς ἕκαστοι: see on c. 3. 19.

14. Ἀθηναίων δὲ κτέ.: the rebuilding of the city and walls now mentioned took place in the winter months of 479–8, during the siege of Sestos. See on c. 90. 22. — τὸ κοινόν: *the whole community* without designation of any particular magistracy, and without distinction of βουλή and δῆμος. So c. 90. 29; 92. 3; iii. 11. 22. For the pl. verb following, see on c. 24. 9; 34. 5. — αὐτοῖς: ethical dat., used in good as well as in bad sense. *Cf.* c. 101. 6; 106. 8; v. 3. 21. — 15. ἐκ τῆς χώρας: *i.e.* out of Attica, opp. to ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, 3. See Ullrich, *Hell. Kr.* p. 41. — ὅθεν: = ἐντεῦθεν οἱ: a rare attraction, transferred from the pron. use to the adv. *Cf.* Soph. *Tr.* 701, ἐκ δὲ γῆς, ὅθεν προύκειτ', ἀναζέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί. Hor. *Od.* i. 38. 3, rosa quo locorum sera more-

ἐθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιοῦσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἱστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ
90 ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ 1
αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἥλθον πρεσβείᾳ, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φο-
5 βουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην· ἠξίουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω 2
Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἱστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ

tur. The reference is to the neighbouring islands and the Argolic Acte. — **ὑπεξέθεντο**: *had carried for safety*; *ὑπεκκεῖσθαι* is the pf. pass., c. 137. 19; viii. 31. 15. The same verbs are used of the same fact by Hdt. viii. 41. 7; 60. 24; and by Plut. *Them.* 10. 4. *Cf.* also Soph. *El.* 297. — 16. **παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας**: without art. Kühn. 462 e; Kr. *Spr.* 50, 3, 8. — **κατασκευήν**: *household goods* in general. See on c. 2. 12. *Cf.* ii. 5. 13; 14. 3. — 18. **περιβόλου ... οἰκίαι**: in chiastic order to *πόλιν ... τείχη*. — **βραχέα**: *small portions*. See on c. 14. 11. — **οἰκίαι**: placed before its limitations. See on c. 1. 6. *Cf.* iii. 13. 18. Cobet reads *αἱ οἰκίαι*. — 19. **πεπτώκεσαν**: St., v. H., B. read *ἐπεπτώκεσαν*. G. 101, 4, N.; H. 358 c. Kühn., 199, 11, would write *'πεπτώκεσαν*. — 20. **ἐσκήνησαν**: the mid. in same sense, c. 133. 5; ii. 52. 9.

90, 91. *In spite of the resistance of the Lacedaemonians, the rebuilding of the walls of Athens is completed through the address of Themistocles.*

2. **ἦλθον πρεσβείᾳ**: = *ἐπρεσβεύσαντο*. The dat. like *ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ*, but with no exact parallel. *Cf.* *αὐτομολίᾳ χωρεῖν*, viii. 40. 11. — **τὰ μὲν ... τὸ δὲ πλέον**: the pl. more comprehensive, the sing. more emphatic. *Cf.* viii. 47. 9, 15. In c. 18. 30, with *τὰ μέν ... τὰ δέ*, equal weight is laid on both — **καὶ αὐτοὶ ... ἔχοντα**: the partic. *ὁρῶντες* and the following gen. abs. are causal, representing clauses with *ὅτι*, *e.g.* *ὅτι ἥδιον ἂν ἐώρων εἰ μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα ἑώρων*, or perhaps *μή* may be due to the feeling that *ἥδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες* really expresses a wish, = *μᾶλλον ἂν βουλόμενοι*. — 4. **ἐξοτρυνόντων**: this partic., expressing the effect, is placed co-ord. before *φοβουμένων*, the cause, as in c. 1. 3. — 6. **γενομένην**: on the position, see on c. 11. 19.

7. **τε**: *cf.* c. 67. 3; 77. 14; 87. 11. — 8. **ὅσοις εἱστήκει**: the best Mss. have *ξυνειστήκει*, which is hard to explain, but may have arisen by dittography from the following word. It is retained by Sh. and Kr., with Arnold's explanation, 'stand or hold together,' the *περίβολος* being continuous, in contrast with c. 89. 18. The subj. is

σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὕποπτον
τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ
βαρβάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ
ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὁρμᾶσθαι, τήν τε Πε-
λοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε
καὶ ἀφορμήν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμῃ 3
τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι
ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν,
εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς
τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ
πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἑλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ'
ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν ἄρωσιν

τείχη, from τειχίζειν. *Cf.* c. 91. 3. — 9. **τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὕποπτον**: see on c. 36. 3; *τὸ βουλόμενον*, like *τὸ δεδιός, τὸ θαρσοῦν*, properly 'that which wills' in us, and so 'the will' in concrete sense. *Cf.* Eur. *I. A.* 1270, *οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον ἐλήλυθα*; 386, *τὸ λελογισμένον παρείς*. — 10. **δηλοῦντες**: *letting be seen*. *Cf.* c. 82. 4; 102. 14; iv. 68. 29; v. 30. 14. — **ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**: Cl. compares c. 72. 13, *ἐς τὸ πλῆθος εἰπεῖν*. But it is better, with Kr., Sh., to connect this with **ὕποπτον**. Kr. compares vi. 60. 3; 61. 18; 103. 21. — **ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου . . . ἔχοντος**: *i.e. λέγοντες δὲ ὡς, εἰ μὴ τειχίζοιεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθέλοιεν τοὺς περιβόλους, ὁ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι κτέ.* Kühn. 398, 4; Kr. *Spr.* 69, 63, 3; 54, 6, 6. — 11. **ἐχυροῦ ποθεν**: *from some stronghold*, **ποθεν** being = the gen. of *τις*. *Cf.* Plat. *Phaedr.* 268 c, *ἐκ βιβλίου ποθὲν ἀκούσας*; *Rep.* 544 d, *ἢ οἴει ἐκ δρυός ποθεν ἢ ἐκ πέτρας τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι*. — 12. **νῦν**: in the sense of *νῦν δή* or *νυνδή* (Cobet, *V. L.* p. 233) = *ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν, ἀρτίως*, modo. So Dem. XIX. 65, *ὅτε γὰρ νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα εἰς Δελφούς*. Eur. *I. T.* 327. — **τήν τε**: *τε* is postscript. See on c. 33. 2. — 13. **ἀναχώρησιν κτέ.**: to be taken locally, *place of retreat as well as of advance*.

14. **γνώμῃ**: *by the advice*. *Cf.* c. 93. 16; iii. 50. 3; vi. 50. 2. — 15. **τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους κτέ.**: it would be more natural that in 17 we should find *αὐτὸν δ' ἀπέστειλαν*; but by the variation it is suggested that it was not till the departure of the Lacedaemonians that the second part of the advice was given. — 17. **ἀπήλλαξαν**: *got rid of*; the word implies that their presence was a burden. *Cf.* viii. 46. 26. — 20. **μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως**: *cf.* Dem. XVIII. 48, *μέχρι τούτου φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προύδωκεν*. Plat. *Rep.* 471 b, *μέχρι τούτου ποιήσονται τὴν διαφοράν, μέχρι οὗ ἂν κτέ.* — **ἱκανόν**: pred., containing the effect of the verb. *Cf.* c. 37. 21; 71. 27; ii. 75. 22; vi. 92. 26. — **ἄρωσιν**: for *αἴρωσιν* of the Mss. The two forms could hardly be distinguished when the aor. was written with ι subscript. An end to be reached, and not, as in c. 58. 16, an enduring process, is

ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπών, τἆλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τἀκεῖ πράξοι, ᾤχετο. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσῄει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προυφασίζετο. καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς οὔπω πάρεισιν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ

spoken of. See App. — 21. **ἀπομάχεσθαι** : = *μάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, as Plat. *Phaedr.* 260 b, *ἀποπολεμεῖν τε χρήσιμον*. Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 1. 1. *Cf.* ii. 20. 9, *ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι*. — **ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους**: *from the height indispensable for defence*. The sense might have been expressed by *ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἐς τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀναγκαιότατον ὕψος ἄρωσι*. — 22. **τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει**: opp. to those before Sestos, c. 89. 10. Ullrich, *Hell. Kr.* p. 43 ff. — 24. **ὅθεν . . . ἔσται**: fut. indic. in dependent sentence with potential sense. *Cf.* c. 107. 19. Kr. *Spr.* 53, 7, 8; Kühn. 387, 4 d.

25. **καὶ ὁ μέν**: answers to *οἱ δέ* in c. 91. 1, and both together describe the execution of the preceding resolution. — **ὑπειπών**: see on c. 35. 18. — 26. **τἆλλα**: (placed for emphasis before the conj.; see on c. 77. 4) *as for the rest*, loosely connected with what follows, *τἀκεῖ* alone being obj. *πράξοι*. *Cf.* ii. 100. 6; with *ἐς*, vi. 15. 5. — **πράξοι**: fut. opt. in indir. disc. *Cf.* ii. 2. 18; 80. 10; iv. 83. 15; viii. 61. 5. GMT. 70, 2; H. 932, 2.

27. **προσῄει πρός**: *would not go near*, of physical approach. So Aeschin. i. 165; usually with dat. of the interview merely. *Cf.* c. 72. 13; iv. 36. 2; v. 59. 23; vii. 72. 8. — **τὰς ἀρχάς**: *cf.* v. 84. 20. — 28. **διῆγε**: abs., *let time pass on*, as vii. 39. 5. — 29. **ὅ τι**: the question would be *τί οὐκ ἐπέρχει*; and in indir. disc., *ὅ τι*. — **ἐπέρχεται**: see on c. 72. 15. — **ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν**: *before the community, i.e.* in the public assembly. *Cf.* ii. 12. 5; iv. 84. 8; 97. 9; v. 37. 4. — 32. **θαυμάζειν ὡς**: Cobet and v. H. read *πῶς*, as in Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 4. 9. Usually const. with *εἰ* = *ὅτι*. But with *ὅπως* in Dem. xviii. 159; "Isocr. iii. 3; Xen. *Apol.* 25. *ὡς* is perhaps exclamatory." B. L. G.

91. 2. **φιλίαν**: of favour in public relations. *Cf.* c. 60. 7; 137. 31; ii. 100. 13; iii. 95. 7; v. 95. 2. For the fact, see c. 74. 9. — **τῶν δὲ . . . κατηγορούντων**: the partic. *ἀφικνούμενοι* (in iv. 27. 16 also *ἀφιγμένοι*), being constantly

ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεταί τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις 2
μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. ἀποστέλ- 3
λουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἦκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις, Ἀβρώνιχός τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος)· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὁπότε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. οἵ τε 4
οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη κατεῖχον,

used of persons who came from abroad, acquired an almost subst. meaning. *Cf.* c. 95. 11; iii. 93. 13; v. 16. 24; Hdt. i. 105. 16; Plat. *Prot.* 313 b; *Gorg.* 459 e; Isocr. VII. 66; Dem. XVIII. 82, 201. Here, therefore, **τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων** are to be taken closely together, *the others who came from Athens;* and **καί** with **σαφῶς** is intensive, *quite positively*, as in viii. 87. 20 (probably also in viii. 1. 3, where **καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι** is pred. to what precedes). v. H. in Hermes, 4, p. 423, approves this explanation. (In his own edition v. H. brackets **ἄλλων** and **καί**. Van der Mey, Mnem. 11, 327, omits **καί** and reads **ἀεί** for **ἄλλων**.) — 4. **λαμβάνει**: *sc.* **τὸ τεῖχος**. See on c. 90. 8. So **ἔχειν** in iv. 13. 4. *Cf.* Hdt. ix. 7. 5, **τὸ τεῖχος ἐπάλξεις ἐλάμβανε**. — **ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι**: depending on **οὐκ εἶχον** (= **ἤδεσαν**), *they did not know how they could help believing them;* usually the deliberative subjv. occurs, as in ii. 52. 11; iv. 28. 15; v. 65. 21; probably also vii. 14. 6. In iii. 11. 18, **ἐχόντων . . . πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ στῆναι**, though without neg. Kr. *Spr.* 54, 7, 2; Kühn. 394, note 3.

5. **μὴ μᾶλλον . . . ἤ**: see on c. 73. 17. — 7. **χρηστοί**: *sc.* **εἰσι**, which is sometimes omitted after rel. *Cf.* c. 16. 4; 35. 25; ii. 97. 25. But Cobet brackets **χρηστοὶ καί**. The fut. **ἀναγγελοῦσι** has a final meaning. *Cf.* iii. 16. 15; iv. 22. 3. See on c. 90. 24. See App.

8. **καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν**: for similar parataxis, *cf.* c. 26. 17; 61. 2; ii. 12. 8. — 10. **ἤδη γὰρ κτέ.**: explains the pl. **αὐτοί**, and shows that the suggestion of c. 90. 19 had been acted upon. — 11. **αὐτῷ**: see on c. 13. 12; 61. 1. — **Ἀβρώνιχος**: see Hdt. viii. 21. 6. — 13. **ἐφοβεῖτο γάρ**: gives the reason of **κελεύων**, 9. — 14. **σφᾶς**: indir. refl. *Cf.* iii. 93. 7; iv. 41. 12; 55. 6; pl. as referring to the three envoys. — **ὁπότε ἀκούσειαν**: = **ὁπόταν ἀκούσωσι** of dir. disc. *Cf.* the opt., c. 25. 4; 63. 3. GMT. 77, 2, N.; H. 932, 2.

15. **ἐπεστάλη**: see on c. 46. 1. —

καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερῶς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἤδη ὥστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι σῴζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἴ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς ὡς προδιαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν [ἰέναι] τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν 5 ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὖ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι γνώμῃ φανῆναι. δοκεῖ οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν 6 πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν 7

16. **ἐπελθὼν κτέ.**: as in c. 90. 29, *ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν*. — **ἐνταῦθα δή**: of the decisive moment. *Cf.* c. 49. 30, *τότε δή*. — 18. **εἴ δέ τι βούλονται κτέ.**: "if the Lacedaemonians or their allies wished anything, envoys must hereafter be sent (inf. = imv. after *εἶπεν*) to them with the understanding that they could for themselves recognize and decide what was for their own and the general interest." The prep. *παρά* to be taken with *προδιαγιγνώσκοντας* as well as with *σφᾶς*. See on c. 84. 19; 92. 3; vi. 50. 20. This compound is found also in c. 78. 4; v. 38. 19. Its *προ-* implies here "before the Lacedaemonians take the trouble to advise them." The pres. inf. and partic. imply an ironical assumption as to the whole future. See App. — 21. **κοινά**: the position of *τε* shows that this is opp. to *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς*, and that therefore *σύμφορα* belongs to both.

23. **ἄνευ ἐκείνων**: *i.e. ἄνευ γνώμης ἐκείνων*. *Cf.* c. 128. 12; ii. 72. 17; vi. 78. 19; v. 28. 6; viii. 5. 14. — **ἔφασαν**: bracketed by Kr., since *ἔφη* comes again in 30, and *ἔφασαν* was probably supplied by a scribe, who thought a pl. verb was needed with *γνόντες*. *Cf.* vi. 25. 15; 64. 22; vii. 48. 7. But Cl. thinks it may stand after *εἶπεν*, 17, without offence, since the completion of the embassy has been mentioned. Here, as in c. 28. 10, the repetition of the verb is due to the importance of the statement. — 24. **βουλεύεσθαι**: inf. in rel. sentence in indir. disc. *Cf.* ii. 13. 34; 24. 11; 102. 28; iv. 98. 13; v. 45. 9; 46. 18; 63. 16; vi. 24. 14. GMT. 92, 2, N. 3; H. 947; Kühn. 594, 5; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 4, 9; 53, 2, 9. — **γνώμῃ**: like *γνόντες*, 23, implies both discernment and decision, referring to *προδιαγιγνώσκοντας* above.

25. **καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι**: repeated from 22, with a proud sense of self-determination. — 26. **καὶ ἰδίᾳ κτέ.**: *i.e. ὠφελιμώτερον τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους*: the fortification of the city would be of more advantage to its inhabitants (*τοῖς πολίταις*, not the colorless *σφίσιν*), in regard as well to the security of the city itself (*ἰδίᾳ*) as to its influence over the confederacy. Thuc. very often

τ' εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλεύεσθαι. ἢ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμμαχεῖν ἢ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν.

92 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανερὰν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἁμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. οἵ τε πρέσβεις ἑκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.

93 Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν

separates two parallel clauses by an expression common to both (here τοῖς πολίταις). *Cf.* c. 69. 1, 13, 17; 70. 27; 93. 20. See App. — **28. μὴ ... παρασκευῆς**: = ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς μὴ ἀντιπάλου οὔσης. "A position of equal independence is indispensable if the views proposed are to receive equal consideration." For the effect of a neg. before a prep. to reverse the meaning of the following noun or adj., see Kr. *Spr.* 67, 9; 10, 4; Kühn. 514, 4. *Cf.* c. 141. 24; iii. 62. 16. For ἀπό, *cf.* c. 74. 18; ii. 77. 3; vi. 19. 6; vii. 29. 6; for ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον, see on c. 27. 4. — **30. τάδε**: "what has now happened."

92. *The Lacedaemonians are secretly displeased but make no open protest.*

1. ὀργὴν ... ἐποιοῦντο: see on c. 50. 7. The adj. φανεράν has here the same force as an adv. with ὀργίζεσθαι. *Cf.* 6, ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. — **2. κωλύμῃ**: used only by Thuc. of Attic writers. *Cf.* iv. 27. 14; 63. 4. — **3. γνώμης παραινέσει**: governed still by the prep. ἐπί. See on c. 6. 20. — **δῆθεν**: *as they said*, expresses ironically disbelief in the truth of the statement. *Cf.* c. 127. 2; iv. 99. 7. — **τῷ κοινῷ**: *cf.* c. 89. 14; 90. 29; ii. 12. 5. The dat. depends on παραινέσει (*cf.* c. 63. 9; 73. 1), as iii. 37. 28, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει παραινεῖν. — **5. τὰ μάλιστα**: (*cf.* iv. 74. 16; 76. 14; v. 16. 7; 25. 13) belongs to προσφιλεῖς; "they were then most of all on a good footing with the Athenians"; which does not imply any hearty good-will. — **6. ἁμαρτάνοντες**: *when they saw that they were failing, were bound to fail*, not of the permanent consequences, as Cl. says. See Gildersleeve, Am. J. of Ph. IV. 160. — **τε**: *and so. Cf.* c. 87. 11; 90. 7. — **7. ἀνεπικλήτως**: since the appearance of a good understanding was maintained, they refrained from mutual recrimination. *Cf.* the use of ἐπικαλεῖν, c. 139. 10; ii. 27. 3; iii. 36. 8; iv. 23. 8; 133. 2; v. 56. 4; 59. 25; 83. 15.

93. *After the hasty completion of the city walls, at the instance of Themistocles the fortifications of the Piraeus also were built.*

1. ἐτείχισαν: complexive aor., summing up the narrative from c. 89. § 3. Ullrich, *Hell. Kr.* p. 49, calculates that the interval cannot have exceeded

ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δήλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν 2
ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λί-
θων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ᾗ, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαί τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημά-
των καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ
περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
πάντα ὁμοίως κινοῦντες ἠπείγοντο. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ 3
Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκτο
δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυ-
τὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε), νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι
λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγε-

three months. — 2. **καὶ δήλη . . . ἐγέ-νετο**: proleptic and personal const., on the principle of c. 40. 13. — 3. **οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι κτέ.**: = *οἱ θεμέλιοι οἱ ὑπόκειν-ται παντοίων λίθων εἰσίν*. **ὑπόκειται**, pf. pass. of *ὑποτιθέναι*, with **λίθων**, gen. of material. — 4. **οὐ ξυνειργασμέ-νων**: *not worked for the purpose of junction.* — **ἔστιν ᾗ**: *in several places.* G. 152, N. 2; H. 998. — 6. **λίθοι εἰργασ-μένοι**: *stones already wrought* for other purposes. — **ἐγκατελέγησαν**: Schol. *ἐγκατῳκοδομήθησαν*. There is probably an allusion to the use of *λογάδην*, as in iv. 4. 6. — **μείζων**: with **ἐξήχθη** (*cf.* c. 90. 21), *i.e.* than they were before, inclosing now the whole range of the Museum and the neighbouring heights. Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.* II. p. 363; *Sieben Karten*, 3.

8. **πάντα ὁμοίως**: *all without distinction*. *Cf.* c. 121. 5; 124. 16; 130. 12; ii. 49. 41; iii. 39. 33; 111. 10; iv. 112. 10; v. 68. 13; vi. 24. 8; vii. 28. 4. — **κινοῦντες**: often used of interference due to necessity, as with temple-treasures, c. 143. 2; ii. 24. 7; with sacred water, iv. 98. 15. Here, no doubt, of the *στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων, etc.*

ἔπεισε δὲ κτέ.: this second greater design was projected but not completed by Themistocles. This is implied by the verbs **ἔπεισε . . . καὶ ξυν-κατεσκεύαζε**, 15, which should not be separated by punctuation. The first parenthesis explains **τὰ λοιπά**, the second, *ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους*, while the partic. **νομίζων** with its two infs. gives the reason of **ἔπεισε . . . οἰκοδομεῖν**. — 9. **ὑπῆρκτο δέ**: *now a beginning had been made. Cf.* c. 6. 20; ii. 13. 29; vii. 75. 38; and see on c. 48. 1. — 10. **κατ' ἐνιαυτόν**: = *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὖσης* = *ἐνιαυσίας*, vi. 54. 27. — 11. **Ἀθηναίοις**: with **ἦρξε**. *Cf.* ii. 2. 6; vi. 54. 27; Hdt. viii. 51. 5. G. 184, 3; H. 767; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 20, 2. — **ἦρξε**: Böckh (Abh. d. Akad. 1827, p. 131) followed by Curtius, II. p. 242, dates this in Ol. 71. 4, B.C. 493–2; Kr. *Stud.* I. p. 23 ff., in Ol. 74. 3, B.C. 482–1. — 12. **λιμένας . . . αὐτοφυ-εῖς**: the Piraeus, here in widest sense, is "the peninsula the heart of which is formed by the steep height of Munychia, from which the rocky land stretches to the sea like an indented leaf and forms three natural basins with narrow entrances." Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.* II. p. 611. In a narrower sense the largest of these basins was called

νημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν (τῆς 4
γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα
ἐστί), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζε. καὶ ᾠκοδό-
μησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν
ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναν-
τίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον, ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ
οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνῳκοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι
καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξω-

Πειραιεύς, the others being Zea and Munychia. Curtius, *Sieb. Kart.* p. 30; 60, 61. — **αὐτούς**: the Athenians themselves, opp. to τὸ χωρίον. — 13. **προφέρειν**: here as in c. 123. 6; ii. 89. 11, intr., = διαφέρειν. Cl. takes the pres. inf. here in a fut. sense after νομίζειν. See on c. 82. 18. But it is better, with St., *Qu. Gr.* p. 8, to explain it as pres.: putans eos nauticos factos multum proficere ad potentiam sibi comparandam. — 14. **ἀνθεκτέα**: see on c. 7. 2; 72. 4; from the mid. ἀντέχεσθαι. *Cf.* c. 13. 6. — 15. **τὴν ἀρχὴν κτέ.**: the impf., as in c. 26. 23; 27. 2, *he proceeded to make a beginning of the work*, with the implication that it was not finished before his banishment, *cir.* B.C. 471. **εὐθύς**, Schol., ἅμα τῷ ξυμβουλεῦσαι. Arnold thinks this was immediately after the retreat of the Persians. Grote, V. c. 45, p. 149, connects it with ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, and refers to the time when Them. first suggested that the Athenians should make themselves a naval power.

καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν: complexive aor. including the whole operation; and as obj., not τεῖχος with its description, but directly τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους, whereas in 21 τὸ ὕψος follows in a different const. — 16. **ὅπερ**: the antec. is πάχος. — 17. **δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ... ἐπῆγον**: Grote, V. c. 44, p. 105, explains that "two carts, meeting one another, brought stones, which were laid together right and left on the outer side of each"; Cl., that carts brought stones from opposite sides, and after unloading passed down on the other side. But he does not show how this was possible while the walls were in process of construction. Kr. and Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 551, regard the words as a gloss, perhaps introduced by way of comparison with the Bird-city (Ar. *Av.* 1127) or Babylon (Strab. xvi. 1. 5; Curt. v. 1. 25). — 18. **ἐντὸς δὲ ... ἦν**: if the previous words are omitted, these words continue the description of the walls and not of their construction; and thus ἦν proves that when these words were written the walls were no longer standing. (Otherwise the pres. would be used, as in c. 126. 44. Herbst, *ibid.* p. 552.) Cl. explains χάλιξ and πῆλος of mortar, 'neither lime nor clay'; but the words more probably mean rubble, *loose stones or clay*, opp. to the μεγάλοι λίθοι and not to the means of joining them. These stones, cut with square angles, were fastened together, not by cement between them, but iron clamps on the outside (τὰ ἔξωθεν, see on c. 2. 2) made secure by melted lead in the drilled holes. —

θεν καὶ μολίβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἤμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὗ διενοεῖτο. ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ 6
τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλάς, ἀν-
θρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέ-
σειν τὴν φυλακήν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσε-
σθαι. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἰδών, ὡς ἐμοὶ 7
δοκεῖ, τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔφο-
δον εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὖσαν· τόν τε Πειραιᾶ
ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρῄνει, ἢν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βια-
σθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς νανσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας
ἀνθίστασθαι.

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τἆλλα 8
κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

94* Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στρα- 1
τηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ
Πελοποννήσου· — ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα
ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλῆθος· — καὶ ἐστρά- 2

21. **μάλιστα**: see on c. 13. 11. Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.* II. p. 363, conjectures that a height of 60 feet was intended.

22. **τῷ μεγέθει** = ὕψει. — 23. **ἀφιστάναι**: = ἀποτρέπειν, *repel*; very unusual. *Cf.*, however, v. 45. 10. — 24. **τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων**: used chiefly of unfitness for military service. *Cf.* ii. 6. 17; 44. 20.

26. **προσέκειτο**: implies the resolute carrying out of the plan which πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, 14. *Cf.* vii. 18. 6; viii. 52. 15; the const. as in vi. 89. 13; vii. 50. 31; viii. 89. 22. — 28. **τόν τε**: *and accordingly*. See on c. 87. 11. — 29. **τῆς ἄνω πόλεως**: Athens as opp. to the harbour. *Cf.* ii. 48. 8. — 30. **ἢν ἄρα**: *cf.* c. 84. 9. — 31. **καταβάντας**: acc., though the dat. precedes. *Cf.* c. 31. 10; 53. 1; 72. 5.

33. **ἐτειχίσθησαν**: refers to 1, = τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν, while τἆλλα κατεσκευάζοντο (impf.) implies the gradual repair and equipment of their houses, during which the following occurrences took place. This relation is expressed by Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν . . . Παυσανίας δὲ κτέ.

94. *Pausanias carries on the war against the Persians.*

1. **Παυσανίας**: as guardian of his first cousin Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, administered the government along with the Proclid (Eurypontid) king, Leotychides. The following table gives the genealogy of the Eurysthenid (Agid) house, so far as we are concerned with it in the history of Thuc.

τευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο,
καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἐχόντων καὶ ἐξεπολιόρ-
95 κησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. ἤδη δὲ βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ 1
οἵ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες
καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές
τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν
γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ Παυσανίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν,
ἤν που βιάζηται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λό- 2
γους καὶ προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι τἄλλά

1. **Anaxandridas** (*cir.* 560–520).

2. **Cleomenes** † *cir.* 490.	Dorieus fell in Sicily. Hdt. v. 42–48.	3. **Leonidas** † 480.	Cleombrotus † 479. Hdt. viii. 71; ix. 10.	
Gorgo Hdt. v. 48; 51.	Euryanax Hdt. ix. 10.	4. **Plistarchus** † 458. i. 132. 4.	Pausanias	Nicomedes i. 107. 6.
		5. **Plistoanax** † 408, banished 444–426. i. 107. 7; 114. 11; ii. 21. 3; v. 16. 7.	Cleomenes iii. 26. 7.	Aristocles v. 16. 22.
		6. **Pausanias** iii. 26. 8.		

See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II. p. 258 ff.

The narrative is continued from c. 89. § 2.— 3. **Ἀθηναῖοι**: two of the commanders were Aristides and Cimon. Plut. *Arist.* 23. — 5. **Κύπρον**: as a chief source of the Persian naval power, Cyprus was naturally attacked by the Greeks. — 6. **ἐς Βυζάντιον**: depends on *ἐστράτευσαν* without regard to the paratactic intervening clause. — **Μήδων ἐχόντων**: see on c. 89. 10. — 7. **ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ**: *i.e.* while Pausanias still held the command; so in c. 128. 17 the capture of Byzantium is ascribed to him immediately after the Cyprian expedition. In vii. 15. 11 *ἐν* temporal is used with the same noun. See App.

95. *The Lacedaemonians recall Pausanias, and soon cease to take part in the war against the Persians.*

1. **βιαίου**: *arbitrary and arrogant. Cf.* iii. 36. 26. — 2. **οὐχ ἥκιστα**: see on c. 3. 2. — 3. **ἀπὸ βασιλέως**: the same const. with *ἐλευθεροῦν* in ii. 71. 10; viii. 46. 21. — **νεωστί**: see on c. 89. 8. Kirchhoff, Hermes, 11, 11. — 5. **κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές**: on the traditional colonization of Ionia from Athens, see c. 2. 26; Hdt. i. 146, 147. *Cf.* vi. 82. 17. — **ἐπιτρέπειν**: see on c. 71. 4.

7. **προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην**: *showed great zeal. Cf.* vii. 15. 15. **ὡς** with fut. partic., *determining that they would* —. The impf. includes the whole conduct of the Athenians during the down-

τε καταστησόμενοι ᾗ φαίνοιτο ἄριστα αὐτοῖς. ἐν τούτῳ 3
δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Παυσανίαν ἀνακρι-
νοῦντες ὧν πέρι ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία πολλὴ
κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων,
καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις ἡ στρατηγία.
ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαί τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους 4
τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν
τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακε- 5
δαίμονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρός τινα ἀδικημάτων ηὐθύνθη,
τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατηγορεῖτο δὲ
αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι.
καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν δὲ 6
καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν·

ward course of the career of Pausanias. — 8. **αὐτοῖς**: *for them, i.e.* the Athenians. See for a similar ambiguity, which the use of *σφίσι* would have removed, c. 116. 16, and *cf.* v. 32. 23; vi. 35. 5; vii. 17. 16.

9. **μετεπέμποντο**: impf., of the first step taken. *Cf.* c. 48. 2; 62. 21. — 10. **ἐπυνθάνοντο**: for the tense, see on c. 64. 6. — 11. **κατηγορεῖτο**: on the pass. const., see G. 197; H. 819. — **τῶν ἀφικνουμένων**: see on c. 91. 3. *Cf. C. I. A.* I. 45, *εὖ ποιεῖ Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τὸν ἀφικνούμενον.* Tac. *Hist.* ii. 74, venientium a Vitellio militum. — 12. **ἐφαίνετο**: the subj. is 'his behaviour,' suggested by the context. *Cf.* ii. 65. 39; and for a similar comparison of opposed expressions, iii. 39. 10; iv. 95. 3; vi. 31. 33. These show that *ἡ* before *στρατηγία* need not be changed into *ἡ*.

13. **ξυνέβη τε κτέ.**: *and so it came to pass at the same time. Cf.* v. 37. 21; vi. 70. 2; with *μὲν δέ*, viii. 82. 15. **αὐτῷ**, which depends on *ξυνέβη*, is lost sight of in the second clause. *Cf.* v. 72. § 1. The position of *τε* shows that *αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι* are to be read closely together. For *μετατάξασθαι* we have in c. 130. 13 the more usual *μεταστῆναι*. — 15. **στρατιωτῶν**: almost a partic. *Cf.* c. 60. 9; iv. 28. 21.

16. **ἰδίᾳ**: with the verbal noun *ἀδικημάτων*, as in c. 141. 34 with *δόξασμα*. "Advs. of *time, place, degree* are used attrib. with substs. of any kind; but others only with verbal substs. *Cf.* vi. 80. 25; viii. 64. 23." B. Kühn. 461, 6. — **πρός τινα**: *against this or that man.* See App. — **ηὐθύνθη**: *was corrected;* here only in this sense. *Cf.* the noun in Ar. *Vesp.* 571; Plat. *Prot.* 326 d. — 17. **τὰ μέγιστα**: *i.e.* offences against the state. — **μὴ ἀδικεῖν**: *cf.* c. 128. 10; G. 263; H. 1029; Kr. *Spr.* 67, 12, 3. — **κατηγορεῖτο δέ**: *i.e.* in the general opinion, not in formal action. The subj. of *ἐδόκει* is 'this charge.' The further story of Pausanias is in c. 128 ff. — 19. **Δόρκιν**: not elsewhere named.

οἷς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οἱ δὲ αἰ- 7
σθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χεί-
ρους γίγνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παυσανίᾳ ἐνεῖδον, ἀπαλ-
λαξείοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ
τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους.

96 * Παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ 1
τῷ τρόπῳ ἑκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μῖ-
σος, ἔταξαν ἃς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἃς ναῦς· πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύ-
νασθαι ὧν ἔπαθον δηοῦντας τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. καὶ 2
Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἳ

21. **οἷς**: *but to these*, with adversative force. *Cf.* 35. 15; 69. 20. — **ἐφίεσαν**: permittebant; only here in Thuc. *Cf.* Soph. *El.* 631; Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4. 7. — **αἰσθόμενοι**: without expressed obj. *Cf.* c. 118. 9; 126. 22; 131. 1; ii. 25. 8; iii. 22. 22; iv. 67. 8, *etc.* — 22. **οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι**: this probably has reference to the Ephors, and the following words, *μὴ σφίσιν . . . γίγνωνται*, imply a jealous fear of any attempt at independent action on the part of king or general abroad. — 26. **ἐξηγεῖσθαι**: abs., as c. 76. 3. — **ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι**: unusual for the common *ἐν τῷ τότε* or *ἐν τῷ παρόντι*. Kr. brackets *παρόντι*; but the expression is sufficiently defended by later imitation and the corresponding *ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι*. — 27. **ἐπιτηδείους** : = *προσφιλεῖς*, c. 92. 4.

96. *The Athenians accept the hegemony, and arrange the contributions of their allies in money and ships.*

2. **ἑκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων**: here and in vi. 76. 13, without *ὄντων*, plainly from the partic. origin of *ἑκών*. — 3. **ἔταξαν** *κτέ.*: the carrying out of c. 95. 8, *τἆλλά τε . . . αὐτοῖς*. — **ἃς τε** *κτέ.*: this can refer only to the determination of the character of the contribution, whether money or ships, to be made by the several cities, and not, as Kirchhoff, Hermes, 11, 33, supposes, to the amount of the contributions. — 4. **πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον**: *to meet the barbarian, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου*. Schol. — **ναῦς**: *i.e.* manned ships of war, as supplied at first by all the more important allies. — **πρόσχημα**: here like *πρόφασις*, the expressed reason; then, from the frequent misuse of this, the pretended reason. *Cf.* iii. 82. 27; v. 30. 16. — **ἀμύνασθαι**: the aor. in reference to the special purpose. The gen. of the thing requited, as in vi. 38. 19; with *ὑπέρ*, v. 69. 10.

5. For reasons for thinking that this section is interpolated, see App. — 6. **Ἑλληνοταμίαι**: with **ἀρχή** in appos., as iv. 53. 8, *Κυθηροδίκης ἀρχή*; Xen. *Vect.* 2. 7, *εἰ μετοικοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταῖμεν*. It is common in Greek thus to unite in one expression nouns of a

ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα, ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ
97 ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο. ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων 1
τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ,
ἃ ἐγένετο πρός τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς

general and a specific meaning; see on c. 74. 4. *Cf.* ξυνοίκια ἑορτή, ii. 15. 16; μανίη νοῦσος, Hdt. vi. 75. 5; perhaps also θάνατον ζημίαν, ii. 24. 9. The verb κατέστη agrees with ἀρχή. But Cobet, *ad Hyper.* p. 63, reads κατέστησαν, bracketing ἀρχή; and so v. H. On this office, which was filled only by Athenians, and on the whole arrangement, which in its first equitable form was ascribed to Aristides (Plut. *Arist.* 24; Dem. XXIII. 209; Pausan. viii. 52), see Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* p. 240 ff., 513; on the date Böckh, p. 514, agrees with Krüger, *Stud.* I. p. 35, in assuming B.C. 476 as the year in which the arrangements were carried into execution. — 7. **τὸν φόρον**: this term, properly the tribute paid by foreigners, was applied to this general contribution. The name having become odious through the oppression of later years, after the Peloponnesian war the term συντάξεις was introduced. Böckh. *ibid.* p. 541; Schömann, *Gr. Alt.* II. 99. — 8. **ταχθείς**: though belonging to πρῶτος, placed after the subst. See on c. 11. 19. — 9. **Δῆλος**: as being the national sanctuary of all Hellenes. About Ol. 80. 1, B.C. 460, the treasury was transferred to the Acropolis at Athens. — **αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐγίγνοντο**: = τὰς ξυνόδους ἐποιοῦντο = ξυνήεσαν (see on c. 73. 1), and so the const. ἐς τὸ ἱερον, as in iii. 104. 15.

97. *Reasons why the following brief narrative of events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars is inserted.*

1. **αὐτονόμων**: pred. = ἐφ' ᾧτε αὐτοὺς αὐτονόμους εἶναι. — 2. **τὸ πρῶτον**: belongs to αὐτονόμων. — **ἀπό**: *cf.* c. 91. 28. — **βουλευόντων**: see on c. 85. 5. — 3. **τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον**: with these words Thuc. passes from the beginning of the Athenian hegemony, narrated in c. 89–96, to the history of its development, during the so-called πεντηκονταετία, c. 98–117. This he presents in three aspects: (1) πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, (2) πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας, (3) πρὸς τοὺς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνοντας Πελοποννησίων. — **ἐπῆλθον**: implies a systematic progress; *they undertook the following* (τοσάδε) *series of enterprises.* — **διαχειρίσει**: more forcible than διοικήσει; it appears not to occur again till the later rhetoricians, Aristides, Libanius, *etc.* It implies civil administration of all kinds, especially of finance, as Harpocr. describes the Ἑλληνοταμίαι as those οἱ διεχείριζον τὰ χρήματα. Ullrich, *Hell. Kr.* p. 12. — 4. **πραγμάτων**: includes all political measures, external and internal, which exalted the power of Athens. — **μεταξὺ κτέ.**: with inversion of the order of time; see

σφετέρους ξυμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἑκάστῳ. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ 2
καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς
πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ
10 πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μη-
δικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἥψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ
Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπε-
μνήσθη· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἵῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.

98 * Πρῶτον μὲν Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόν- 1
των πολιορκίᾳ εἷλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλ-

on c. 118. 6. So in relations of place, ii. 77. 10; iii. 29. 6; v. 66. 5; vi. 72. 2; viii. 88. 10; 108. 3. — 5. **ἃ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς**: refers to *τοσάδε*, = *ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπράχθη*. — 7. **ἐν ἑκάστῳ**: neut., = *ἐν ἑκάστῳ πράγματι ὃ ἐγένετο*, referring to the various attempts of the allies to regain independence, of which examples are found in c. 114 ff.

ἔγραψα κτέ.: on the aor., see on c. 1. 1. The second expression is a more precise extension of the first. — **αὐτά**: see on c. 1. 10; 22. 15; 26. 16. — 8. **ἐκβολήν**: = the later **διέξοδος**, **παρέκβασις**: excessus, egressio; Quint. iii. 9. 4; probably not used elsewhere by Attic writers, but recurring in Arrian, Dio C., and Plut. So **ἐκλιπές** in 9. — 9. **χωρίον**: locus, pars narrationis. *Cf.* Lycurg. 31. — 10. **ξυνετίθεσαν**: see on c. 21. 4. — 11. **τούτων**: refers to *αὐτά*, 7, and this is also subj. of *ἔχει* in 13. — **ὅσπερ καὶ ἥψατο**: see on c. 15. 7. *Cf.* c. 105. 17; ii. 51. 5; iv. 98. 9; vi. 87. 15. — **τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ**: called in the citations of grammarians **Ἀτθίς** and **Ἀτθίδες**. With the oldest legends it included historical notices reaching down to the end of the Peloponnesian war. See C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* I. p. xxiv. ff., who gives his dates B.C. 482–397. — 13. **ἅμα δὲ καί**: refers to *διὰ τόδε*, 8. — **ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει**: *sc.* *αὐτά*, 7. "These events disclose the way in which the power of Athens was established." **ἔχει** = **παρέχει**. *Cf.* c. 140. 27; ii. 61. 9; 87. 3; iii. 53. 12; iv. 95. 3; 126. 17, 23. For *ἀπόδειξιν*, *cf.* Hdt. i. 11. — **τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . ἐν οἵῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη**: see on c. 23. 27. For *ἐν*, *cf.* c. 77. 2; 130. 5; vii. 67. 15.

98. *Expeditions of the Athenians against Eïon, Scyros, Carystus, and Naxos, which was the first of the allies to lose its independence.*

On the chronology of this period, see App.

1. **Ἠιόνα**: which commands the mouth of the Strymon, became the Athenian base for further operations in Thrace. — **Μήδων ἐχόντων**: see on c. 89. 10. On the gallant resistance of the Persian governor Boges, see Hdt. vii. 107. — 2. **ἠνδραπόδισαν**: properly of the inhabitants. The mid. form occurs once, in iv. 48. 21; elsewhere the act.

τιάδου στρατηγοῦντος· ἔπειτα Σκῦρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ 2
νῆσον, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν, καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐ-
τοί. πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐ- 3
βοέων πόλεμος ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολο-
γίαν. * Ναξίοις δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ 4
πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο. πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχὶς
παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
99 ὡς ἑκάστη ξυνέβη. αἰτίαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀπο- 1
στάσεων καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἔκδειαι καὶ
λιποστράτιον εἴ τῳ ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς

4. **καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί**: to be referred to both the preceding places, since Eïon undoubtedly was occupied by Athenian cleruchs. For such a new settlement **ᾤκισαν** is the proper term. *Cf.* vi. 3. 12; and see on c. 4. 3. — 5. **Καρυστίους**: on the southern coast of Euboea; the only place of the island which had not yet joined the league. Kirchhoff, Herm. 11, p. 20. — 6. **καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν**: change of subj. in parataxis. *Cf.* c. 26. 16; 61. 1. From this time Euboea seems to have remained quietly in the Athenian alliance till 445, c. 114. Müller-Strübing, p. 85.

7. **ἐπολέμησαν**: at the time that Themistocles made his way to Asia, c. 137. § 2. — 8. **παρεστήσαντο**: see on c. 29. 22. — **πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς**: see on c. 1. 8; but here and in vii. 85. 17, the sup. stands first. The subj. is **αὕτη** alone, and **πόλις ξυμμαχίς** stands in a pred. relation, which approximates to a gen. pl. For **τε**, *cf.* c. 4. 5; 5. 19; 92. 7. — 9. **τὸ καθεστηκός**: the established arrangement as described in c. 96; here abs. as in vii. 67. 10. *Cf.* c. 76. 11; iv. 97. 10. — **ἐδουλώθη**: as **δουλεία**, c. 8. 15, of political subjection. See on this relation, Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* p. 530. — 10. **ὡς ἑκάστη ξυνέβη**: indicates the varying circumstances under which the same fate befell different places.

99. *In consequence of these encroachments, the hegemony of the Athenians became more and more disliked.*

2. **ἔκδειαι**: *arrears.* Suidas explains, **ἔκδειά ἐστι τὸ μέρος καταβαλεῖν ὧν ὀφείλει τις, ἔνδεια δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως καταβαλεῖν.** *Cf.* Dem. XXXII. 30. — 3. **λιποστράτιον**: in such words **λιπ-** is to be preferred to **λειπ-**. See Dind. in *Thesaurus s.v.* **λειπανδρέω**, and Cobet, *N. L.* p. 78. The point is decided not by Mss. but by the poets. Plut., *Cim.* 11, says, **ἄνδρας καὶ ναῦς ὡς ἐτάχθησαν οὐ παρεῖχον.** In vi. 76. 15, the fem. **λιποστρατία** is applied to a course of such conduct, the neut. here to failure in particular cases. It could apply only to those allies who had to furnish independent contingents, and was therefore rare; accordingly, **εἴ τῳ ἐγένετο.** The **ἀποστάσεις** were induced mainly by the knowledge that such short-comings would be severely visited by the Athenians; and this leads to the following, **οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον**, which probably has the general sense of "exercising the

ἔπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομέ-
νοις ταλαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας. ἦσαν δέ 2
πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρ-
χοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, ῥᾴδιόν τε
προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους· ὧν αὐτοὶ
αἴτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύ- 3
την τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου
ὦσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἐκνούμενον ἀνά-
λωμα φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν
ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, ὁπότε
ἀποσταίεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κα-
θίσταντο.

hegemony in a strict manner" (*cf.* iii. 66. 1; iv. 114. 23); for **πράσσειν** without an express object, like **χρήματα** (viii. 5. 18), could hardly mean 'exacted' payment, *etc.*; which latter sense too would not well agree with **λιποστράτιον . . . ἐγένετο**. The consequence of this strictness is expressed in **λυπηροὶ ἦσαν** (c. 76. 5; vi. 18. 6), and its exercise in **οὐκ εἰωθόσιν . . . ἀνάγκας**. Here the better Mss. read **προσαγαγόντες**, but the pres. only is suitable to express systematic dealing. — **5. ἀνάγκας**: *severe measures of compulsion*, joined with **προσάγειν** like **μηχανάς**. *Cf.* ii. 76. 17; iv. 100. 7; vii. 25. 23. — **ἦσαν ἄρχοντες**: *and in fact they exercised their authority*. On the periphrasis, see App. on c. 1. 1, and Am. J. of Ph. IV. p. 302. — **6. ὁμοίως**: Schol., **ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τὸν Παυσανίαν**. — **ἐν ἡδονῇ**: *with satisfaction* to the allies. *Cf.* iii. 9. 4, **ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχειν**. — **7. οὔτε . . . ἴσου**: supply **ἀλλ' ὡς κρατοῦντες**. **ξυστρατεύειν** is applied to the leading state also in v. 81. 6; it seems impossible to suppose that **ξύμμαχοι** is subj. here, between the two clauses relating to the Athenians. As in c. 140. 31; iii. 10. 12, **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου** implies the recognition of mutual rights. — **8. προσάγεσθαι**: = **παραστήσασθαι**. *Cf.* vi. 94. 14; viii. 107. 7. — **9. αἴτιοι ἐγένοντο**: *had been to blame*. See on c. 50. 23. — **10. ἀπ' οἴκου**: *far from home*. *Cf.* c. 7. 6; 76. 7; Eur. *I. T.* 481. — **11. ἐτάξαντο**: *got themselves rated*. **τάξασθαι** is used with acc. of sum to be paid, c. 108. 14; with inf. c. 117. 16; without either, iii. 70. 19; with both, c. 101. 14; iii. 50. 10. So here the essential change in the relation is expressed by **χρήματα ἐτάξαντο**, and the more definite statement by **ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν . . . φέρειν**. — **ἐκνούμενον**: *proper, suitable* (commonly, **τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, τὸ γιγνόμενον**); the simple verb in Attic prose only in this form and sense. — **12. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κτέ.**: *and consequently, etc.* *Cf.* c. 50. 21; 51. 16. This explains **ῥᾴδιον προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς** of 7, for which the allies were themselves in fault. — **13. ξυμφέροιεν**: iterative opt., of what occurred every year. *Cf.* c. 50. 2. GMT. 62; H. 914 B.

* Ol. 78. 3; B.C. 466.
** Ol. 78. 4; B.C. 465.

100 * Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι 1
ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων
καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρα-
τηγοῦντος, καὶ εἷλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν
τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. ** χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη 2
Θασίους αὐτῶν ἀποστῆναι διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
ἀντιπέρας Θρᾴκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου, ἃ ἐνέμοντο.
καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυ-
μαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυ- 3
μόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμ-
μάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε
καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδούς, νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν
Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἠδωνοί, προελ-

100. *Battle on the Eurymedon; conflicts with the Thasians; serious defeat of the Athenians in Thrace.*

1. **ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι**: Diod. xi. 60; Plut. *Cim.* 12. *Cf.* the epigram of Simonides (but see Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III⁴, p. 489 ff.), *Anth. Pal.* vii. 296, which probably refers to this battle. — 3. **ἐνίκων**: *were victorious. Cf.* c. 13. 32; 49. 24. — 4. **ἀμφότερα**: see on c. 13. 23. — 5. **εἷλον . . . καὶ διέφθειραν**: on the order see on c. 91. 26. — 6. **τὰς πάσας**: *in all. Cf.* c. 60. 6. — **ἐς διακοσίας**: Diod. xi. 60. 7, and Lycurg. *c. Leocr.* 72, speak of 100 ships, probably following line 6 of the epigram. Good Mss. have *ἐς τὰς διακοσίας*. But the pleonastic use of the art. with numerals, except in the case of divisions, as in c. 116. 2, 8, seems foreign to Thuc. Kr. on *Dion. Hist.* p. 303, note 69. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 2, 8, 9.

χρόνῳ δέ: here *δέ* of few Mss. is to be preferred to the better attested *τε* in view of the transition to a disconnected topic. — 7. **περὶ τῶν . . . μετάλλου**: see Hdt. vi. 46, 47. The sing. also in c. 101. 15; Hdt. iv. 185. 5; v. 17. 8. Kr. *Spr.* 44, 1, 1; Kühn. 347, 1. — 8. **ἐνέμοντο**: see on c. 2. 6. — 10. **ἀπέβησαν**: the narrative is resumed in c. 101. 1.

ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα: this occurred (iv. 102. § 3) 29 years before the successful settlement of the Athenians at Amphipolis, which took place in Ol. 85. 4; B.C. 437. — 13. **Ἀμφίπολιν**: so called from its position, described in iv. 102. § 4. — 14. **αὐτοί**: opp. to the previous possessors, the Edonians. If the order had been *ἃς εἶχον Ἠδωνοί, αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν*, the use of the pron. would not have been surprising. *Cf.* c. 98. 4; 114. 16; iii. 23. 4. — **ἐκράτησαν, διεφθάρησαν**: inaccurately connected with *πέμψαντες*; but the collective name *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, which is implied, permits a reference both to the commanding whole

θόντες δὲ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβησκῷ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον [αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ] κτιζόμενον. **101** Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχαις καὶ πολιορκούμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμῦναι ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν. * οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Εἵλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριᾶταί τε καὶ Αἰθαιῆς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε

and the executing part. *Cf.* c. 90. 1. — 15. **τῆς Θρᾴκης**: the gen. of the country placed before the designated portion. So especially when the country has been previously named. — **Δραβησκῷ**: this accentuation (for Δραβήσκῳ) is confirmed by Herodian, i. p. 153. — 16. **ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων**: defined by the following rel. sentence. See App. — **οἷς . . . κτιζόμενον**: *for whom this point if occupied* by the Athenians *was a constant menace of war. Cf.* iv. 8. 34; and v. 52. 16, οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθὲν [τὸ Ῥίον]. For this const. of the partic. (*cf.* the Latin ademptus Hector, Hor. *Car.* ii. 4. 10: Kühn. *L. G.* II. § 136, 5), see Kr. *Spr.* 50, 11, 3. *Cf.* Pind. *Ol.* VIII. 65; *Pyth.* XI. 22; Aesch. *Pers.* 727; Thuc. i. 6. 5; 23. 24; ii. 49. 16; vi. 3. 11; Dem. XVIII. 32, 57; Lys. III. 13. The addition, αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοί, already twice named, is rightly rejected as a gloss by Cobet.

101. *The Thasians reduced by the Athenians; the Lacedaemonians prevented from helping them by the revolt of the Messenians.*

3. **ἐπεκαλοῦντο**: *cf.* c. 33. 15; 102. 2; iii. 65. 9; vi. 18. 9. — **ἐκέλευον**: see on c. 26. 1.

4. **κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων**: *cf.* c. 128. 21; 138. 29; ii. 80. 34; viii. 7. 4. — 5. **ἔμελλον**: *sc.* ἐσβαλεῖν. — **σεισμοῦ**: see Plut. *Cim.* 16. 6. — 6. **αὐτοῖς**: see on c. 89. 14. — **περιοίκων**: *i.e.* the old inhabitants, chiefly of Achaean stock, who had been reduced to a condition of dependence (not slavery) by the Dorians. Müller, *Dor.* Bk. III. 16 ff. — 7. **ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν**: see on c. 87. 7; iii. 54. 18. On the position of Ithome, "the natural fortress of all Messenia," see Curtius, *Pelop.* II. p. 137 ff.; on Thuria, *ibid.* p. 161. Aethaea, acc. to Steph. Byz., Αἰθαία, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αἰθαιεύς (more correct than Αἰθεεῖς of our Mss.), πόλις Λακωνικῆς, μία τῶν ἑκατόν. Θουκυδίδης πρώτῃ. Müller, *Dor.* II. 2, p. 18. — **πλεῖστοι**: pred. The descendants of the Messenians of old times, who had in the first war been enslaved, formed the largest part of the Helot-class, and so they were called collectively (**οἱ πάντες**) Messenians, though there were some who were sprung from Achaean inhabitants of Laconia, reduced after repeated risings. — 8. **τότε**: refers to the mythical time of the first Messenian war, implied in **παλαιῶν**. *Cf.* iii. 69. 2; iv. 46. 5; v. 4. 14; vii. 31.

δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ᾗ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ
10 πάντες. πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει 3
Λακεδαιμονίοις· * Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι
ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς
παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα τα-
ξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ
102 μέταλλον ἀφέντες. ** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς αὐτοῖς πρὸς 1
τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέ-
σαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος
στρατηγοῦντος πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς 2
5 ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς
δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαί-

12; viii. 20. 2; 73. 4. — 9. **δουλωθέντων**: for the position of the attrib. partic., *cf.* c. 11. 19; 96. 8.

12. **ὡμολόγησαν**: *agreed to surrender. Cf.* c. 108. 13; v. 4. 8; iv. 69. 19, *ξυνέβησαν*. The conditions of the submission here, c. 108. 13; 115. 3; 117. 14, are expressed by aor. partics., no doubt in the view that the *ὁμολογία*, the complete agreement, was perfected only when these points were performed. So Madvig (*Bemerkungen zur Syntax*, p. 47) explains the unusual partic. GMT. 24, N. 3. — 13. **χρήματά τε**: the *τε* here and that in 14 are not correlative with the following *καί*, but add respectively the third and fourth member of the conditions. See on c. 76. 12. **ἀποδοῦναι** (aor., of the single case) depends on **ἔδει**, and *φέρειν* (of the established relation) depends on *ταξάμενοι*, with *χρήματα* placed first as obj. of both *ταξάμενοι* and *φέρειν*. See on c. 99. 11. — 14. **τήν τε ἤπειρον κτέ.**: see c. 100. § 2.

102. *The Athenians are summoned by the Lacedaemonians to their aid, but are soon mistrusted and dismissed. In displeasure they make an alliance with the Argives and Thessalians.*

2. **ἄλλους**: the Aeginetans, ii. 27. 9; Plataeans, iii. 54. 17; Mantinaeans, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 3. — 3. **Κίμωνος**: see Plut. *Cim.* 16. 6; Ar. *Lys.* 1143, *ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὁπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίοις Κίμων ὅλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.*

5. **ἐπεκαλέσαντο**: for the repetition, *cf.* c. 88. 1. — **τειχομαχεῖν**: *cf.* Hdt. ix. 70. 8, *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν.* — **τοῖς δὲ . . . ἐφαίνετο**: *τῆς δέ*, which is read by P. and v. H., has not sufficient Ms. authority. Cl. thinks the reference is to the Athenians, whose reputation was not sustained by success in this case, *τοῖς δέ* not being in opp. to *αὐτούς*, but placing the second clause in contrast with the first. For this, he compares c. 81. 3; 86. 9; iv. 73. 22; 76. 27. But it is better, with Kr. and Sh., to refer *τοῖς δέ* to the Lacedaemonians (in opp. to the subj. of *ἐδόκουν*), "who found out by the length of the siege their own incompetence; for had they had any skill in that

νετο· βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἷλον τὸ χωρίον. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης 3
τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φα-
νερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον
βίᾳ οὐχ ἡλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν
καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι,
μή τι, ἢν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες
νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν, τὴν μὲν
ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέον-
ται αὐτῶν ἔτι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ 4
βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλά τινος ὑπόπτου γενο-
μένου, καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν,
ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς

way, they would have taken the place by force." *Cf.* c. 11. 5. Thus this section gives the reason for the invitation to the Athenians on both sides. For the dat., *cf.* c. 48. 9; 89. 14; iv. 26. 24; and for the pl. **ἐνδεᾶ**, see on c. 7. 2; ii. 56. 4; iii. 88. 4; v. 8. 6. **τούτου** = **τοῦ τειχομαχεῖν**. — 7. **βίᾳ**: with **αἱρεῖν**, or the pass. **ἁλίσκεσθαι** in 10, is opp. to **ὁμολογίᾳ παραστῆσασθαι** or **προσχωρεῖν** (*cf.* v. 17. 14), and implies violent capture, whether by storm or otherwise. See on c. 11. 9.

διαφορὰ . . . φανερὰ ἐγένετο: in contrast with c. 92. 6, **ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο**. 10. **τὸ τολμηρόν**: *cf.* ii. 87. 22, and see on c. 36. 3. — 11. **καὶ ἅμα**: see on c. 2. 8, "particularly when they took into consideration that they were of a different stock." After this, **μή τι** also depends on **δείσαντες**. — 12. **ἢν παραμείνωσιν**: implies that their stay was not long. *Cf.* Paus. iv. 24. 6, **ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης**. — 13. **νεωτερίσωσι**: see on c. 58. 3; here, that they might join the insurgents against the Lacedaemonians. — 14. **οὐ δηλοῦντες**: *cf.* c. 82. 4; 90. 10.

15. **ἔγνωσαν ἀποπεμπόμενοι**: for partic. after verb of *knowing*, see G. 280; H. 982. — **οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ**: *not on the more creditable ground*, just assigned, viz. **ὅτι οὐδὲν . . . ἔτι**. **ἐπί** with dat. of the motive of an action. *Cf.* c. 69. 32; Hdt. viii. 5. 16. — 16. **ὑπόπτου**: neut. *Cf.* c. 90. 10, = **ὑποψίας τινός** taken in the concrete. — 17. **δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι**: *being provoked*; very frequent in Hdt.; *e.g.* i. 13. 3; 127. 2; ii. 133. 4; 161. 15; iii. 155. 8; iv. 33. 20; v. 33. 9; 42. 7; 87. 10. In Thuc. only here and vi. 60. 21. But in v. 42. 15, **δεινὰ ποιεῖν**, as Hdt. ii. 121. 2; iii. 14. 22; v. 41. 9. — **οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες**: after the analogy of **οὐ φάναι, οὐκ ἐᾶν**, either in reference to the subj., 'regarding as unworthy,' *being indignant at*: so here and iii. 61. 12; iv. 86. 7; or in regard to another, 'not to expect from one.' *Cf.* c. 136. 12; ii. 89. 2; iii. 44. 12; iv. 40. 3; viii. 73. 20. See on c. 22. 9. — 19. **ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ**: rare for the acc. So iii. 63.

αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη.

103 * Οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο 1 ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίασιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς· ἢν δέ τις ἁλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι 2 δοῦλον. ἦν δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἱκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀφιέναι. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ 3 αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ᾑρηκότες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων. προσεχώρησαν δὲ 4

3. *Cf.* c. 40. 24. — **πρὸς αὐτούς**: *sc.* τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, placed at the end. *Cf.* iv. 107. 6; vii. 70. 11. — 21. **ἀμφοτέροις**: *i.e.* the Athenians and the Argives. — 22. **κατέστη**: sing., construed with the nearer noun. *Cf.* v. 22. 14. A further consequence of the displeasure of the Athenians was the banishment of Cimon (Plut. *Cim.* 17. 5) and the increased influence of Pericles and Ephialtes.

103. *The Messenians allowed to depart from Ithome, and placed by the Athenians in Naupactus. Megara joins the Athenians to the indignation of the Corinthians.*

1. **δεκάτῳ ἔτει**: so all Mss.; but Cl. follows Kr., *Stud.* I. p. 156–161, in reading τετάρτῳ. See App. on c. 98. 1. — 2. **ἐφ' ᾧ τε**: *on condition that*; in c. 113. 13; 126. 35; iv. 30. 19, ἐφ' ᾧ, always with fut. indic. The form ἐφ' ᾧ τε is defended by passages in Plat., Hdt., and Xen. The orators and Plat. have only the inf., pres. or aor. (fut. only in Aeschin. III. 114); Hdt. and Xen. have fut. indic. and pres. or aor. inf. GMT. 65, 2; H. 999 a; Kühn. 584, note 3; Madvig, *Synt.* 103, R. 3. Another mode of expressing the conditions of a contract is seen in c. 101. 12.

4. **εἶναι**: depends remotely on ξυνέβησαν. *Cf.* c. 117. 17. But the inf. is regular in indir. disc., for the imv. δοῦλον is added to threaten the returning Messenians with a harder fate than they had endured as Perioeci. — 6. **πρὸ τοῦ**: belongs to ἦν. They had had this oracle long ago. — **Ἰθωμήτα**: Thuc. has this Doric ending of gen. also in v. 25. 3; vi. 4. 17; viii. 58. 2. — 7. **ἀφιέναι**: depending on the command implied in χρηστήριον.

8. **κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη**: *in consequence of the enmity already existing* (c. 102. § 4). See on c. 30. 20. — 9. **ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν**: *cf.* vi. 7. 6; 50. 18; with ἐν, v. 35. 33. This settlement at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf was subsequently very important. See ii. 69; 91; iii. 102; iv. 41. — **ᾑρηκότες νεωστί**: this fact is not further mentioned by Thuc., but attributed by Diod. xi. 84. 7, to the expedition of

καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον. καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ᾠκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί. καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι.

104 * Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμιτίχου, Λίβυς, βασιλεὺς Λιβύων 1 τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλέω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους

Tolmidas. Kr. *Stud.* I. p. 201, note. — 10. **ἰχόντων**: see on c. 94. 6; 98. 1. Curtius, Hermes, 10, p. 239, remarks correctly that Thuc. by this phrase always indicates an occupation connected with military operations. He refers this passage, therefore, with great probability to the Locrian *Synoecismus* in Naupactus, of which we are informed in an inscription (published 1869 by Oeconomides, and by W. Vischer, Rhein. Mus., 1871, p. 39 ff.; Hicks, No. 63). The fact that the Ozolian Locrians only are here mentioned, and not the Opuntian also, is explained by the predominant position of the former in their own district.

11. **καὶ Μεγαρῆς**: *i.e.* as well as the Argives and Thessalians. — 12. **περὶ γῆς ὅρων**: without art., the statement being general. So c. 122. 9; iv. 92. 21. *Cf.* c. 78. 12. — **πολέμῳ κατεῖχον**: *oppressed with war.* This unusual expression probably refers rather to a constant threat of war than to continuous hostilities. — 13. **καὶ ἔσχον**: *got possession of,* ingressive; see on c. 12. 11. The Athenians placed there a garrison (*ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί*: *cf.* c. 111. 11, *εἶχον δὲ αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς*), which was destroyed, c. 114. 5. Pegae was the Megarian harbour on the Corinthian gulf; Nisaea, a nearer one, on the Saronic. — 16. **οὐχ ἥκιστα**: see on c. 3. 2. — **ἤρξατο πρῶτον**: so often joined to emphasize the moment of beginning. *Cf.* ii. 36. 1; 47. 8; 68. 5; iii. 86. 7; vi. 46. 6.

104. *The Athenians support the revolt of the Egyptians against the Persians with* 200 *ships.*

1. **Ἰνάρως**: acc. to Hdt. vii. 7. 6, Inaros began his insurrection with the assassination of the Persian governor, Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, who had been sent there after the suppression of the revolt of B.C. 486. Psammitichus is probably the *βασιλεὺς τῆς Λιβύης* mentioned as friendly to the Athenians by the Schol. on Ar. *Vesp.* 718. — 2. **Μαρείας**: Marea, on the southern bank of Lake Mareotis. Pharus, the island off the Canopic mouth of the Nile, afterwards united by a mole with Alexandria, and famous for its lighthouse. Thuc. uses this well-known place to define the position of Marea. — **ὑπέρ**: with gen., *above, further inland.* *Cf.* c. 112. 9; 137. 16. — 4. **Ἀρταξέρξου**: (some

ἐπηγάγετο. οἱ δέ (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι 2
ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἦλθον
ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσ-
σης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς
Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὃ καλεῖ-
ται Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν
καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυνα-
ποστάντες.

105 * Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἁλιᾶς πρὸς 1
Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων
Κορίνθιοι. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κε-
κρυφαλείᾳ Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι.
πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ 2
ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων
καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρῆσαν, καὶ
ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν
ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν Λεωκράτους τοῦ
Στροίβου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν 3
βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἴγιναν τριακοσίους

Mss. have Ἀρτοξέρξου here; c. 137. 21; iv. 50. 14) succeeded Xerxes B.C. 465. See on c. 137. 21. — 5. **ἐπηγάγετο**: see on c. 3. 9. *Cf.* c. 114. 7; iii. 34. 8; 82. 5.

οἱ δέ . . . γάρ: see on c. 31. 7. — **στρατευόμενοι**: probably, after the reduction of a large portion of the island (c. 94. 5), an Athenian force had been stationed there. — 7. **ἀναπλεύσαντες**: *i.e.* up stream. *Cf.* Hdt. ii. 4. 19, *ἀνάπλοος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν*. — 9. **τῶν δύο μερῶν**: *i.e.* of three. See on c. 74. 6. — 11. **οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες**: *i.e. εἴ τινες μὴ ξυναπέστησαν*.

105. *Battles of the Athenians with the Corinthians and the Aeginetans.*

1. **Ἁλιᾶς**: Ἁλιῆς, -έων, -εῦσι, -ᾶς, the correct form of the name, acc. to Hdt. vii. 137. 12; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 2. 3; and Böckh, *Inscr.* I. No. 165. It lay on the southern coast of the Argive peninsula (Curtius, *Pelop.* II. 461, 579). The district is called ἡ Ἁλιάς in ii. 56. 14. — 3. **Κεκρυφαλείᾳ**: an island in the Saronic gulf, between Aegina and Epidaurus. — 4. **Πελοποννησίων**: *i.e.* the Corinthians and Epidaurians, perhaps with the Halians and other inhabitants of the Acte. — **καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι**: *and this time the Athenians were victorious*, retaliation being indicated by the repetition of the same words.

9. **Λεωκράτους**: acc. to Plut. *Arist.*

ὁπλίτας, πρότερον Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους, διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἔν τε Αἰγίνῃ ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἦν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ 4 στράτευμα οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ μάχης γενο- 5 μένης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως 6 μᾶλλον) ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι ἡμέρας ὕστερον δώδεκα

20. 1, he was a general also at Plataea. — 12. **πρότερον . . . ἐπικούρους**: *i.e.* in the battle of § 1; an auxiliary contingent sent by the authorities of the league. — 13. **τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας**: they thus controlled the passage of the Isthmus. Curtius, *Pel.* I. 8; II. 551. — 17. **ἦν δὲ καί**: *καί, actually*, suggests a doubt as to the occurrence; see on c. 15. 7. — **ἀναστήσεσθαι**: *cf.* vii. 49. 10; 50. 22; viii. 27. 28; applied to the removal of a force from a post occupied for some considerable time.

18. **πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ**: *i.e.* before the *city* of Aegina, which they were besieging, 9. — 19. **τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως**: proleptic, as c. 8. 9; 18. 1; 63. 8; due to the influence of *ἀφικνοῦνται* (G. 191, N. 6; H. 788; Kühn. 448), but peculiar in the addition of *ὑπολοίπων*. — 20. **οἵ τε . . . νεώτατοι**: these performed military service only in extraordinary cases; the former were between 50 and 60, the latter below 20 years of age. Gilbert, *Griech. Alt.* I. p. 301. — 21. **Μυρωνίδου**: a great name among the leaders of the older generation. See c. 108. 7; iv. 95. 12; Ar. *Eccl.* 302; *Lys.* 801; Plut. *Per.* 16. 3.

22. **ἰσορρόπου**: of indecisive engagements. *Cf.* vii. 71. 2. — 23. **αὐτοί**: placed for emphasis before *ἑκάτεροι*. — **οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν**: *cf.* ii. 22. 12; iii. 5. 7; iv. 25. 20; vii. 5. 16; 36. 16; viii. 61. 17. — **ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ**: *in the action*. *Cf.* c. 107. 28; ii. 89. 42; iv. 32. 24; viii. 42. 12.

24. **ἐκράτησαν**: the position implies "in fact they *had* got the better." 26. **κακιζόμενοι**: *cf.* ii. 21. 23. — 27. **παρασκευασάμενοι . . . ἐλθόντες**: *when after about twelve days' preparation they*

μάλιστα ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τούς τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἱστάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς
106 ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν. οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπε- 1
χώρουν, καί τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἔς του χωρίον ἰδιώτου, ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος. οἱ δὲ 2
Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες κατὰ πρόσωπόν τε εἶργον τοῖς ὁπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πάθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.

again marched out: the acc. **ἡμέρας** with **παρασκευασάμενοι**, and this subordinate to **ἐλθόντες**. St. and B. follow Madvig in reading **ἡμέραις**; but this would isolate **παρασκευασάμενοι** too much. — 28. **ἀνθίστασαν . . . διαφθείρουσι**: the two sentences in parataxis (*cf.* c. 26. 16; 61. 1), in the same temporal relation as c. 48. 2, 3, the thing attempted being expressed by the impf., and its interruption by the pres. For **καὶ αὐτοί**, see on c. 50. 18. — 29. **ἐκβοηθήσαντες**: only here in Thuc., and in Hdt. only in ix. 26. 11; frequent in later writers. — 30. **τοῖς ἄλλοις**: *i.e.* those who meanwhile had come to aid their friends.

106. *The Athenians cut off a detachment of the Corinthians.*

1. **νικώμενοι**: partic. pres. corresponding to **ἑνίκων** (c. 13. 31; 49. 24; iii. 8. 5); so c. 70. 17; ii. 47. 17; 51. 23; 60. 22; v. 73. 12; vii. 23. 13. It is here pred. to **ὑπεχώρουν**. — 2. **καί τι κτέ.**: parataxis, as in c. 105. 28. — **προσβιασθέν**: this verb here only. **πρός** has the same strengthening force as in **προσαναγκάζειν**, iii. 61. 14; iv. 87. 8; v. 42. 19; viii. 76. 32. But Kr. conjectures **προβιασθέν**. — 3. **ἔς του χωρίον ἰδιώτου**: for the order, *cf.* c. 45. 8; 53. 17. — **ᾧ**: refers to **χωρίῳ**, and is probably governed directly by **ἔτυχεν**, *sc.* **ὄν** (see on c. 32. 9; and *cf.* Lys. XXIV. 5; and Thompson on Plat. *Phaedr.* 263 c) with **περιεῖργον** as additional pred. Herbst, Philol. 1866, p. 651, makes **αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον**, 2, antec. to **ᾧ**, taken as dat. of interest to **ἔτυχε** (= 'met') and **οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος**. But this is very unlikely, in view of vii. 81. 22, **ἀνειληθέντες ἔς τι χωρίον, ᾧ κύκλῳ μὲν τεῖχίον περιῆν**. — 4. **καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος**: stands as a second member of the relative sentence, as if **καὶ ἐξ οὗ**. See on c. 42. 2; 68. 15; ii. 4. 25.

5. **εἶργον**: Schol., **ἐκώλυον ἐξελθεῖν**. — **τοῖς ὁπλίταις**: *cf.* c. 48. 12; 49. 18. **κατὰ πρόσωπον** and **περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ** are opposed. — 6. **κατέλευσαν**: *i.e.* with such stones as were at hand, with or without slings. — 8. **τὸ πλῆθος**: *the main body;* opp. to the **μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον**. — **αὐτοῖς**: *cf.* c. 102. 1. Böckh, *Inscr.* I. No. 165, p. 292; *C. I.*

107 *Ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μα- 1
κρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φα-
ληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. καὶ Φωκέων στρατευσάντων 2
ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, Βοιὸν καὶ
Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, ** καὶ ἑλόντων ἓν τῶν πολισμάτων
τούτων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου
ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως, νέου ὄν-
τος ἔτι, ἡγουμένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τε
πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυ-
ρίοις, καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὁμολογίᾳ ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι
τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν 3
αὐτούς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλοιντο περαιοῦ-
σθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν·

A. I. 433; Hicks, No. 191, for a remarkable record of the events recorded in the three last chapters, naming the citizens of the tribe Erechtheis who fell in these campaigns: *Ἐρεχθηίδος οἵδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Φοινίκῃ, ἐν Ἁλιεῦσιν, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, Μεγαροῖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.* Thuc. does not notice the Phoenician affair, nor the *Inscr.* the action off Cecryphaleia. Böckh assumes for these events the civil year, Ol. 80. 3, B.C. 458–7; Kr. *Stud.* I. p. 162, B.C. 460, from spring to autumn; Ol. 79. 4–80. 1.

107. *The long walls at Athens begun; the Lacedaemonians, who had gone to support the Dorians, hindered on their return by the Athenians.*

1. **ἤρξαντο**: the completion is mentioned in c. 108. 12. In this connexion of city and harbour, which identified the power of Athens with the sea, the democracy recognized the surest guarantee of its stability. — 2. **τὸ Φαληρόνδε**: of 35 stades; **τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ**: of 40 stades. See ii. 13. § 7. The latter afterwards consisted of a double wall (**τὸ βόρειον καὶ τὸ νότιον**). But at first only the northern line was constructed; the southern one (**τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος**) was added about B.C. 440, by the advice of Pericles. Plat. *Gorg.* 455 e, and Curtius, *Zu den Sieben Karten*, p. 33.

4. **Δωριᾶς**: applied both to district and inhabitants; and so the appos. **τὴν μητρόπολιν**, as in iii. 92. 9. *Cf.* Hdt. viii. 31. 7 (who, c. 43. 8, mentions a fourth town, Pindus); Strab. x. 4. 6. — 6. **Νικομήδους**: see on c. 94. 1. — 7. **βασιλέως**: appos. to **Πλειστοάνακτος**. — 11. **ἀπεχώρουν**: *they began their return march.* See on c. 87. 1.

12. **διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου**: they may have intended to take ship at Cirrha, as Cl. suggests; but Thuc. always uses this name for the Corinthian gulf. See ii. 69. 4; 83. 2; 92. 22; 93. 1; iv. 76. 10. For the order of words, see on c. 77. 4. — 13. **ἔμελλον κωλύσειν**: *it was to be expected that they would hinder.* Thuc. uses the fut. inf. after **μέλλειν** (regarded

διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς Ἀθη-
15 ναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγὰς πορεύεσθαι· δύσοδός
τε γὰρ ἡ Γεράνεια καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο ἀεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων,
καὶ τότε ἠσθάνοντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν.
ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ 4
τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύσονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες
20 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν
τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη οἰκοδομούμενα. ἐβοή- 5
θησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων
χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὡς ἕκαστοι· ξύμπαντες
δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. νομίσαντες δὲ 6
25 ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καί τι καὶ
τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψίᾳ. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν 7

as a verb of *thinking*) in preference to the pres. (as after a verb of *will*). *Cf.* c. 10. 31; 22. 2; 114. 4; 130. 10; 132. 30; 134. 3; *etc.* Pres. and fut. together, vi. 42. 3. The Mss. vary as usual. — 15. **Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς**: see c. 103. 13. — **πορεύεσθαι**: in c. 26. 5 with **πεζῇ**, of a march by land. **βαδίζειν** is usually opp. to **πλεῖν**. — **δύσοδος**: occurs here only. Curtius, *Pelop.* II. 552. — 17. **καὶ τότε**: in addition to the natural difficulties of that route, active opposition on the part of the Athenians was threatened. — **καὶ ταύτῃ**: *i.e.* as well as **κατὰ θάλασσαν**, 11.

18. **ὅτῳ τρόπῳ**: with fut. indic., for the more usual **ὅπως**. So iv. 128. 23; vi. 11. 25; 44. 23; viii. 43. 12; 48. 23; 63. 20. — 19. **τὸ δέ τι καί**: (in 25 **καί τι καί**) adds a collateral reason; *and besides*. *Cf.* c. 118. 12; vii. 48. 7. — **ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων**: *i.e.* of the aristocratical party. For the use of **ἄνδρες** for **τινες**, see on vi. 10. 5. — 20. **ἐπῆγον**: *were seeking to introduce*. So the act. in ii. 85. 21; viii. 46. 9; though usually the mid. — **δῆμον**: the democratic constitution; oftener with **καταλύειν, κατάλυσις**: see iii. 81. 20; v. 76. 6; 81. 8; vi. 27. 11; 28. 10; viii. 49. 5; 54. 17; 64. 9; 65. 2; 68. 2, 27; 86. 8, 47. **καταπαύειν** also of political changes, v. 26. 3; viii. 97. 5. The long walls would greatly strengthen the democracy.

21. **ἐβοήθησαν**: (*a*) **βοηθεῖν ἐπί τινας** = 'to carry force against' them; (*b*) **ἐπὶ (ἐς) τόπον**, 'to carry aid to' it. Arn. *Cf.* (*a*) iii. 110. 8; iv. 25. 32; 108. 28; (*b*) iii. 97. 14; iv. 8. 3; 42. 15; 72. 2; vi. 65. 20; vii. 18. 4; viii. 60. 15. — **πανδημεί**: includes either the whole population, as c. 73. 22; 90. 22; v. 82. 26; or the whole military force, as here, ii. 31. 2; v. 64. 6. In this case it appears that even the force in possession of Geraneia was withdrawn. — 23. **ὡς ἕκαστοι**: *cf.* c. 67. 13.

25. **ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν**: deliberative subjv., as ii. 4. 29; 52. 11; iii. 112. 22. — 26. **τοῦ δήμου**: Kr. conjectures **του δήμου**, because **δῆμος** is often used

ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἳ μετέστη-
108 σαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. * γενομένης 1
δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολύς. καὶ 2
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδρο-
5 τομήσαντες πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Γερανείας καὶ
ἰσθμοῦ· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ
τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς Μυρωνίδου στρατη-
γοῦντος, καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαν- 3
τες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος,
10 καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν

in this sense without the art., and here καταλύσεως is without it. But δῆμος, *the democratical constitution* (besides the places cited by Kr. and P.), has the art. in v. 76. 5; viii. 54. 17; 68. 3, 14; and Thuc. often omits the art. with a governing subst. when a gen. precedes. *Cf.* c. 3. 1; 11. 2; 36. 11. — ὑποψίᾳ: after νομίσαντες; see on c. 80. 3, where the order is reversed. — 27. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: see on c. 13. 12. — κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν: see c. 102. 21; ii. 22. 17. The word is rare, except in Thuc. *Cf.* ii. 101. 15; iii. 3. 19; 91. 7; iv. 61. 15; v. 6. 6; *etc.* — οἱ μετέστησαν: rel. clause with adversative force; *but these passed over*. See on c. 35. 15.

108. *The Athenians are defeated by the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra; as two months later the Boeotians are by the Athenians at Oenophyta.*

2. Τανάγρᾳ: on the Asopus, near the Attic border. — ἐνίκων: this positive assertion must outweigh the opposing statements of later writers (Plat. *Menex.* 242 b; Diod. xi. 81. 6; Justin. iii. 6), who represent the result differently. A favourable consequence of this defeat was the recall of Cimon (see on c. 102. 22) on the motion of Pericles. Plut. *Cim.* 17. 10; *Per.* 10. 3.

4. δενδροτομήσαντες: not to be changed with v. H. into -κοπήσαντες, though hardly occurring elsewhere. Metaphorical in Ar. *Pax*, 747. The reference is specially to the destruction of vines and olives. — 6. δευτέρᾳ . . . ἡμέρᾳ: by this precise date and the condensed brevity of the account, Thuc. indicates the surprising character of these successes.

8. Οἰνοφύτοις: Schol., χωρίον τῆς Βοιωτίας, of uncertain position. Kiepert marks it on the Asopus, a few miles east of Tanagra. — 9. ἐκράτησαν: not so much by further victories as by the support given to the democratical faction in the various towns, whose preponderance lasted till the battle of Coronea, B.C. 446, c. 113. — τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτίας: *i.e.* the country except Thebes, but Grote, *Hist. of Gr.*, V. c. 45, p. 187, includes Thebes; on p. 202 he quotes Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 5 (1302 b, 29) as implying that a democracy was established there also at this time. — 10. περιεῖλον: for the usual καθεῖλον; again in

Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τά τε τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπετέλεσαν. * ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. καὶ Πελοποννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἷλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

109 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον, καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ

14 and iv. 51. 1; 133. 2. — 11. **ὁμήρους**: Curtius, Herm. 10, p. 239, considers that this was a punishment for the participation of these Locrians in the undertaking directed against Athenian interests, referred to on c. 103. § 3. — **τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους**: for the position, *cf.* in 12 *τὰ μακρά*, added as a supplementary explanation. — 12. **τά τε τείχη**: the last member of the enumeration. *Cf.* c. 67. 6; 69. 3; 76. 12; 90. 7; and so in 14, *φόρον τε*.

13. **ὡμολόγησαν**: see on c. 101. 12. This was after a siege of nearly three years; see c. 105. 9. P. follows Diod. XI. 78. 5, who makes it last nine months only. — 16. **Τολμίδου**: son of Tolmaeus. On names from similar stems, see on c. 29. 7. — 17. **τὸ νεώριον**: Gythium, see Paus. i. 27. 5; at the northwest corner of the Laconian gulf, now Marathonisi, Curtius, *Pel.* II. 270. — 18. **Χαλκίδα**: no doubt the place mentioned in ii. 83. 18 near the mouth of the Evenus in Aetolia, which was then in the hands of the Corinthians. The Schol. wrongly places it in Acarnania. — **ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς**: *cf.* *παράπλους τῆς Ἰταλίας*, c. 36. 11; *γῆς πατρῴας νόστος*, Eur. *I. T.* 1066; in adpulsu litoris, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 59. Kühn. 414, 4. — 19. **μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν**: Thuc. joins *κρατεῖν* with the acc. when it is used with *μάχῃ* or *μαχόμενος* (ii. 39. 14; iv. 67. 29), or, more rarely, when the connexion clearly implies this (ii. 39. 18; iii. 99. 3); otherwise always with the gen.; for in viii. 25. 23, *ἐν τῇ μάχῃ* belongs to *ξυνέβη*; and in viii. 62. 7 the gen. is to be regarded rather as abs.

109. *Final defeat of the Athenians in Egypt.*

1. **ἐπέμενον, καὶ . . . κατέστησαν**: parataxis; = *while they waited in Egypt* (since B.C. 460, see c. 104, § 2) *occurred, etc.* *κατέστησαν*, complexive aor. summing up a series; see on c. 6. 3. — 2. **ἰδέαι**: used in vi. 4. 31 in its literal sense of 'figure.' Thuc., who is fond of the word, uses it elsewhere for 'manner, mode'; and only here in *pl.*, of *vicissitudes* in war (belli modos, Hor. *Car.* ii. 1. 2); often with *πᾶσα*. *Cf.* ii. 19. 2; iii. 81.

βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προυχώρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀνηλοῦτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσην μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς· * ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τούς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλῃσε· καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἓξ μῆνας, μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλῃ τὸ ὕδωρ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἷλε τὴν νῆσον πεζῇ.

22; 83. 1; 98. 15; 112. 23; vii. 29. 26. — 3. **ἐκράτουν . . . καὶ . . . πέμπει**: see on c. 61. 1. — 5. **ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν . . . ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου**: the position shows strong contrast. — 6. **ἀπαγάγοι**: *cf.* iii. 36. 4; vi. 73. 9. — 7. **προυχώρει**: here impers. as in ii. 56. 12; iii. 4. 19; 18. 4; iv. 59. 16. Elsewhere with a subj., *ἡ αἵρεσις* (ii. 58. 7), *τὸ ἔργον* (viii. 68. 25), or a neut. of general meaning (c. 74. 28; 111. 7; 127. 4; ii. 5. 2; iv. 18. 21; 73. 20; 101. 11; v. 37. 9; 54. 7; 83. 7; vi. 18. 27; 74. 11; 90. 7; 103. 11). — **ἄλλως**: = *μάτην*. *Cf.* iv. 36. 2; vii. 42. 35; 47. 17; viii. 78. 9. ii. 18. 8, which Cl. gives here as another instance, is correctly explained by him there in a different sense. — **ἀνηλοῦτο**: Wecklein, *Cur. epigr.* p. 34, has shown that *ἀναλοῦν*, *ἀναλίσκειν* should have the aug. *η*. *Cf.* ii. 13. 29; 64. 14; 70. 11; iii. 81. 16; vi. 31. 38; vii. 48. 35; viii. 31. 17; 45. 30; 65. 12. — 8. **ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος κτέ.**: the use of the common pred. *ἐκομίσθη* has a sarcastic tone. — 9. **Μεγάβυζον**: mentioned in Hdt. vii. 82. 8 and iii. 160. 12, where he is said to be the son of that Zopyrus, who gained Babylon for Darius. — 10. **μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς**: Diod. gives him (xi. 75) with Artabazus 300,000 men and (xi. 77) 300 ships. — 13. **Προσωπίτιδα**: this island is mentioned in Hdt. ii. 41. It lay between the Sebennytic and Canopic mouths of the Nile, which must have been joined on the north by a channel, probably artificial. This Megabyzus rendered dry by diverting the water flowing into it (Diod. xi. 77. 2, *τὸν περιρρέοντα ποταμὸν διώρυξι διαλαβόντες ἤπειρον ἐποίησαν τὴν νῆσον*). — 14. **ξηράνας . . . παρατρέψας**: the result stated before the means; see on c. 1. 3. — 16. **ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε**: *cf.* *ἐν μέσῳ αὑτῶν ποιεῖν*, c. 62. 14; *ἐντὸς ποιῆσαι*, v. 2. 13; *ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν τειχῶν ποιήσας*, vii. 5. 14. — 17. **καί**: introduces the result of what precedes; *and so*. *Cf.* c. 99. 12.

110 * Οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἓξ 1
ἔτη πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι
διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι
ἀπώλοντο. Αἴγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο 2
πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ
διὰ μέγεθός τε τοῦ ἕλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν καὶ ἅμα
μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἕλειοι. Ἰνάρως δὲ 3
ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. ἐκ δὲ τῶν 4
Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις
διάδοχοι πλέουσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον
κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ

110. *An auxiliary force sent later by the Athenians is almost annihilated, and Egypt comes again under the dominion of the Persian King.*

1. **τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα**: refers chiefly to the persons engaged; *the Greeks and their undertaking*. *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 9. γ4. Accordingly we have **πολεμήσαντα** instead of the more usual **πολεμησάντων**, which Cobet and v. H. read. Sh. compares ii. 36. 13, Ἕλληνα πόλεμον ἐπιόντα. — 2. **ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν**: this use of **ἀπό** strengthens the impression of loss, as in iii. 112. 30; vii. 87. 26. *Cf.* iv. 9. 3. Diod. xi. 77 represents the Athenians as retiring by capitulation, concluding with **ἐσώθησαν παραδόξως ἐς τὴν πατρίδα**. He no doubt follows the later encomiastic writers. Grote, V. c. 45, p. 188.

4. **ὑπὸ βασιλέα**: so the best Mss., the inferior having **βασιλεῖ**. In iii. 59. 14 and vii. 64. 7 we have **γίγνεσθαι ὑπό** with dat., vi. 86. 17, **εἶναι ὑπό** with acc. Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 27, cites all the passages without drawing a distinction between them. — 5. **Ἀμυρταίου**: *cf.* Hdt. ii. 140. 7; iii. 15. 14. — **τοῖς ἕλεσι**: the lower parts of the Nile Delta. *Cf.* Hdt. ii. 137. 6; 151. 18. — 6. **καὶ ἅμα . . . εἰσι**: a direct statement for a causal one. *Cf.* v. 61. 18; vii. 47. 7. — 8. **ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε**: *who had been the originator of the whole movement*. *Cf.* viii. 82. 10.

10. **Ἀθηνῶν**: so Bekk. for **Ἀθηναίων** of the Mss., which **ἐκ** will hardly allow. — **τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος**: here the members, not the territory, of the alliance, as in ii. 80. 5; v. 36. 4. On **ἄλλης**, *besides*, see G. 202, N. 3; H. 705. Kühn. 405, note 1; Kr. *Spr.* 50, 4, 11. — 11. **διάδοχοι**: elsewhere (iii. 115. 7; vii. 15. 9; viii. 85. 3) only of persons; but here, too, the men are mainly thought of, and so in 12, **εἰδότες**. — **ἔσχον**: *put in*, usually with **ἐς** or a dat. But **κατά**, to designate the point of the coast, also iv. 129. 12; vi. 97. 3. — **τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας**: between the Pelusiac and Sebennytic mouths, named from the city Mendes. Hdt. ii. 17. 25; 42. 6; Strab. xvii. 1. 18. **κέρας** of one of the Nile mouths (usually **στόμα**) is

τε γῆς ἐπιπεσόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον πάλιν. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

111 Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου υἱὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων ἔπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν. * καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας ξυμμάχους Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἶργον), τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἷλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο προυχώρει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὀρέστην ἔχοντες ἄπρακτοι. ** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες

found in Pind. *frg.* 201, Bergk. — 12. **καί**: *cf.* c. 109. 3. — 16. **ἐς Αἴγυπτον**: belongs to *στρατείαν*, though placed after the subst. without repetition of the art. *Cf.* c. 11. 19; 18. 12. — **ἐτελεύτησεν**: of a series of events; *cf.* c. 138. 33; iii. 68. 32; v. 26. 21; viii. 2. 21.

111. *Fruitless expedition of the Athenians into Thessaly to restore Orestes; attempts on the coast of Peloponnesus and Acarnania.*

1. **τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως**: the generality of this expression is surprising, but the title *βασιλεύς* is applied to the chiefs of particular parts of Thessaly in Hdt. v. 63. 16; vii. 6. 8. As the family of Echecratidas and Orestes belonged to Pharsalus (Gilbert, *Griech. Alt.* II. p. 7), we perhaps should read *Φαρσαλίων*. *Cf.* ii. 22. § 3; iv. 78. § 2. Perhaps *ταγός* is here meant. Anacreon, *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 142, speaks of Echecratidas as *Θεσσαλίας ἀρχός*. — 3. **κατάγειν**: see on c. 26. 15. — **παραλαβόντες**: applied specially to the call of allied troops to active service. *Cf.* 14; v. 52. 12; vi. 101. 30; vii. 20. 16; 26. 5; 31. 7; 57. 41; viii. 92. 40. — **ὄντας ξυμμάχους**: see c. 108. 9. — 4. **τῆς Θεσσαλίας**: see on c. 100. 15. — 5. **ὅσα μή**: also *ὅσον* or *ὅ τι*, = *τοσαύτης μόνον ὅσης κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο μὴ προιόντες*. Kühn. 512, 4 b. An elliptical expression to limit a preceding assertion; *so far as was possible without*. *Cf.* iv. 16. 12; Soph. *O. R.* 347; *Trach.* 1214. — 6. **τῶν ὅπλων**: *i.e.* the place of arms. *Cf.* iii. 1. 7; vi. 64. 20; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 6; with *τίθεσθαι*, ii. 2. 22; iv. 44. 6; vii. 3. 3; viii. 25. 22. — 9. **ἄπρακτοι**: with *ἀποχωρεῖν* again, viii. 43. 24; with *ἀναχωρεῖν*, iv. 22. 14; with *ἀπιέναι*, iii. 113. 20; iv. 61. 28; 99. 10; v. 38. 21; 56. 19; vi. 85. 15; 86. 23; the adv., vi. 48. 3.

10. **ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβάντες**: *cf.* ii. 25. 20; vii. 69. 26; the same as *ἐσβαίνειν ἐς*, i. 18. 19. In vii. 70. 32, *ταῖς*

(εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς) παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων τοὺς προσμίξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. καὶ εὐθὺς 3
παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν τῆς Ἀκαρ-
15 νανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἶλόν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

112 *Ὕστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γί- 1
γονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετεῖς. καὶ 2
Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ** ἐς δὲ Κύ-
προν ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμ-
5 μάχων Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ ἑξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς 3

ναυσί, of boarding. But in iv. 116. 8, *ἐπιβαίνειν τοῦ τείχους*. — 11. **αὐτοί**: see c. 103. 13. — **παρέπλευσαν**: *sailed along the coast*, the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus not being intended. *Cf.* ii. 25. 15, 26; 84. 30; iii. 7. 5; *etc.* Pericles is here first mentioned, with the distinction which is always given by the addition of a father's name. In his case this is repeated on each occasion that he is again prominently introduced. *Cf.* c. 127. 3; 139. 23; ii. 13. 3; 31. 3; 34. 22. In other places the father's name is omitted. Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes*, p. 618 ff., whose further inferences are not to be accepted. See Introd. p. 2.

14. **τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας**: dependent on **Οἰνιάδας**, as in 4. Oeniadae, at the mouth of the Achelous, used as name of the town (ii. 102. 15; iii. 7. 10; 114. 12) and of the inhabitants (iv. 77. 9). On this expedition of Pericles, see Plut. *Per.* 19. 2–4, who gives him 100 triremes.

112. *Truce between Athens and Sparta; successful battles in Cyprus and on the coast; hostile action of Athens and Sparta about Delphi.*

1. **διαλιπόντων**: intr., of time. *Cf.* iii. 74. 1. In v. 10. 54 it agrees with the subj. of the sentence. — **γίγνονται**: pass. of **ποιεῖσθαι**. *Cf.* c. 51. 9; 73. 2; 75. 14. — 2. **πενταετεῖς**: St. and v. H. read **πεντέτεις** here and **δεκέτης** in v. 25. 3; 26. 16, without Mss., following the analogy of **πεντετηρίς**, iii. 104. 13, and the corresponding forms in Ar. *Ach.* 188, 191; Soph. *Phil.* 715; Eur. *El.* 1153. But the uncertainty of the orthography of **τριακοντούτεις** (c. 23. 19; 115. 3; ii. 2. 2) and of **πεντηκοντούτεις** (v. 27. 1; 32. 19) indicates the absence of an established usage.

καί: *and accordingly*; see on c. 109. 17. — 3. **Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου**: not a designation of a particular war, but expressing collectively all the military operations of the past ten years which were not against the Persians. Ullrich, *Hell. Kr.* p. 6 ff. — **ἔσχον**: Schol., **ἐπέσχον**, not = **ἀπέσχοντο**, 'they abstained from,' but *ceased, made a pause*. So particularly the imv. **σχές**, Soph. *O. C.* 1169; Eur. *Hec.* 963; *I. A.* 1467. The gen. **πολέμου** is part., for in c. 113 the **Ἑλληνικὸς πόλεμος** is continued. In viii. 31. 2, the compound **ἐπέσχον** is similarly

Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν. Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου 4 ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου· καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν [αἱ] ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. * Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν 5 καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσι.

used. *Cf.* Plat. *Lys.* 210 e; Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 2. 12; *An.* iii. 4. 36; Dem. xiv. 5; Ar. *Av.* 1200.

6. **ἀπ' αὐτῶν**: out of the number of 200. *Cf.* c. 110. 2; 116. 14. — **Ἀμυρταίου**: see c. 110. § 2. — **μεταπέμποντος**: act. also in iv. 30. 12; vi. 52. 8; 71. 10; 88. 56; vii. 8. 7; 15. 6; 42. 20. Mid. in i. 95. 9; ii. 29. 4; iii. 2. 8; iv. 100. 1; v. 47. 38, 40; 82. 9; vii. 31. 8; 80. 23; viii. 5. 5; 37. 18; 57. 12. Each means substantially to summon to one by a message, with greater or less insistence upon employment for the purposes of the subj. See App. — 7. **Κίτιον**: on the south coast of Cyprus, birthplace of Zeno the Stoic.

9. **ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος**: *off Salamis.* Arn. compares the use of *μετέωρος*, as in c. 48. 4, "from the apparent elevation of the horizon line of the sea above the shore." *Cf.* c. 137. 16; viii. 95. 24. — 10. **ἐναυμάχησαν**: in Diod. xii. 3. 3, and Plut. *Cim.* 18. 7, this victory of the Attic fleet is erroneously ascribed to Cimon. — 11. **ἀμφότερα**: see on c. 13. 23; 100. 4. Diod. xii. 4. 4, represents the so-called Peace of Callias to have been made with Persia in consequence of these successes. On this, see on viii. 56. 18; Grote, V. c. 45, p. 190 ff.; Kr. *Stud.* I. p. 74 ff., who denies the conclusion of any such peace. — 12. **αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου . . . μετ' αὐτῶν**: the attrib. partic. is placed as in c. 11. 19. *μετ' αὐτῶν* is to be taken with *ἀπεχώρησαν*. On the omission of *αἱ*, see App.

14. **πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν**: like *πόλεμον πολεμεῖν* in viii. 58. 26. Here only in Thuc., but recurring in Diod. and Appian. Any war would be called *ἱερός* which concerned the Delphian oracle or treasures. With the support of Athens (see c. 108. 9), the Phocians, who were always at variance with the Delphians, had possessed themselves of the temple and oracle. Now (B.C. 448) the Lacedaemonians had put it again in charge of the Delphians; but shortly afterwards (acc. to Philochorus, Schol. on Ar. *Av.* 556, *ὕστερον τρίτῳ ἔτει τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου*) the Athenians reinstated the Phocians, being, acc. to Plut. *Per.* 21. 2, under the command

113 Καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιω- 1
τῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν
καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν
μὲν χιλίοις ὁπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὡς ἑκάστοις ἐπὶ
τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὄντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου
στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἑλόντες [καὶ ἀνδραποδί-
σαντες] ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες. * πορευομέ- 2
νοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς
Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ
Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν· καὶ

of Pericles. See Grote, XI. c. 87, p. 49.

113. *In the battle of Coronea the Boeotians and Locrians of the anti-democratic party defeat the Athenians, who lose their supremacy in Boeotia.*

1. **χρόνου ἐγγενομένου**: *cf.* iv. 111. 4; Hdt. i. 190. 11; ii. 124. 13; Plat. *Phaed.* 86 e. See viii. 9. 6; and on c. 80. 17. — **Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων**: (*i.e.* **φυγάδων**) the order as in c. 1. 6; 5. 5; 15. 8; 17. 5. In 14 **Βοιωτῶν** is part. gen. The party hostile to the Athenians had since the battle at Oenophyta (c. 108) maintained itself in northern Boeotia, and was strengthened by the disorders of Thebes, of which Arist. (see c. 108. 9) says, **ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη**. This expedition of Tolmides was undertaken, acc. to Plut. *Per.* 18. 2 against the advice of Pericles. — 4. **ὡς ἑκάστοις**: *with their respective quotas;* opp. to **ἑαυτῶν χιλίοις ὁπλίταις**. *Cf.* c. 107. 23. This phrase is elliptical, with a verb to be supplied from the principal sentence, which can be easily done when the relation is that of subj. (c. 3. 19; 67. 13; 89. 13) or obj. (vii. 65. 6; 74. 16). In Hdt. i. 29. 6 the verb is actually inserted, **ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο**. *Cf.* also vi. 76. 16. But in cases like the present no supplement can conveniently be made; and the expression is treated as practically a single word. *Cf.* Hdt. i. 114. 10; vi. 31. 5, *etc.*, and the use of **ἔστιν οὗς**, *etc.* — 5. **πολέμια ὄντα**: *i.e.* opposed to their policy. See on c. 100. 16. On the words bracketed, see App. — 7. **ἀπεχώρουν**: *began their return march.* See on c. 107. 11.

8. **Κορωνείᾳ**: on the road from Chaeronea to Thebes. — **τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ**: masc. in iii. 87. 11; iv. 76. 11; v. 61. 13; fem. in Ap. Rh. iv. 257, acc. to the general rule for names of towns. Kühn. 96, II. — 9. **Λοκροί**: in resistance to the oppression of the Athenians. *Cf.* c. 108. § 3; and see on c. 103. 10. In Euboea also the party was stirring which presently attempted an open revolt (c. 114. 1). — 10. **καὶ ὅσοι . . . ἦσαν**: a second definition of the Euboeans, parallel to **φυγάδες**; "belonging to the same political party." **τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης** again in iii. 70. 27; v. 46. 26. *Cf.* iv. 56. 17; viii. 74. 16. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 6, 10. There is no sufficient ground for the conjecture of Müller-Strübing, *Arist.* p. 291,

μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθη- 3
ναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται. καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ 4
οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

114 * Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὔβοια ἀπέστη 1
ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περι-
κλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων, ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα
ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν
ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγα-
γόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους
ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρῆς, ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος

that there were among them aristocratical exiles from Athens. — 11. **τοὺς μέν**: among those slain was Tolmides himself, acc. to Diod. xii. 6; Plut. *Per.* 18; *Ages.* 19. — 12. **ζῶντας ἔλαβον**: this phrase (or with ἔχειν) opp. to διαφθείρειν in ii. 5. 10; iv. 38. 25; 101. 17; v. 3. 12; viii. 28. 12.

13. **ἐφ' ᾧ**: see on c. 103. 2. — 14. **κομιοῦνται**: applied specially to the recovery of prisoners (τοὺς ἄνδρας, as in iv. 15. 5; 21. 17; 41. 15) and the corpses of the slain. *Cf.* ii. 79. 29; 82. 4; iii. 7. 17; iv. 15. 10; 21. 12; 41. 15; 108. 38; 117. 12; v. 15. 4; 17. 3; 39. 6; vi. 103. 4; vii. 45. 4.

κατελθόντες: practically pass. of κατάγειν. See on c. 26. 15. *Cf.* Ar. *Ran.* 1165, φεύγων ἀνὴρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. — **καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες**: *i.e.* who had come under Athenian control (c. 108. § 3), the rest of the Boeotians, the Opuntian Locrians, and the Phocians (so Arn., Grote, V. c. 45, p. 203, and B.); and it is chiefly in view of these that the pred. **αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο** is chosen. For **οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν** a more general one, as **πάλιν ἐπολίτευον**, would be more appropriate.

114. *Euboea and Megara fall away from Athens, and the Lacedaemonians at the same time invade Attica. Pericles makes vigorous resistance at all points.*

2. **διαβεβηκότος ἤδη**: partic. pf., not aor., since the relation is strictly temporal, not causal, *after he had passed over*; and this, too, renders the following **αὐτῷ** less harsh than **ἡμῖν** after **σφαλέντων** in vi. 10. 6. On this irregularity, see GMT. 110, 1, N. 5; H. 972 d; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 4, 2; Spieker, Am. J. Ph. VI. p. 328 ff. For examples in Latin, see Kühn. *L. G.* II. 140, 9. — 4. **ἀφέστηκε . . . μέλλουσιν . . . εἰσίν**: repraesentatio, giving the tenses used by the messengers. — 5. **οἱ φρουροὶ . . . Νίσαιαν**: *cf.* c. 103. 15. — 6. **ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ . . . ἀπέστησαν**: see on c. 88. 1; and on c. 3. 9. — 7. **Κορινθίους κτέ.**: to them the control of the isthmus by the Athenians was most threatening. See c. 105. § 1;

ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο 2
οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε
ἐσβαλόντες ἐδῄωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασι-
λέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι
προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πά- 3
λιν ἐς Εὔβοιαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρατηγοῦντος κατε-
στρέψαντο πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίᾳ κατε-
στήσαντο, Ἑστιαιᾶς δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον.
*115 ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σπον- 1
δὰς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους

111. § 2. — 9. **ἐκόμιζε**: applied to the transport of troops only by sea. *Cf.* v. 56. 7; vi. 7. 19; 51. 11. The impf. after **ἀπέστησαν** implies that as soon as the news of the revolt reached him he began at once to convey back his troops. The following **μετὰ τοῦτο**, however, refers to the completed fact **ἀπέστησαν**. See App.

10. **Θριῶζε**: (not **Θρίωζε**; we must assume a nom. **Θριώ**) = **ἐς τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον** (ii. 19. 8; 20. 7), the most fertile district of Attica. — 11. **ἐδῄωσαν**: without expressed obj., as ii. 11. 28; 25. 27. Instead of the aor. (which is rare; *cf.* ii. 66. 6; iii. 26. 9; iv. 45. 4) the impf. (as Kr. has accidentally printed it in his note) would be more usual for a case like the present (*cf.* c. 81. 2; 96. 5; ii. 12. 20; 23. 3; *etc.*). If the word were omitted, — and it might easily have been introduced in imitation of similar passages, — we should lose nothing, and the correspondence with ii. 21. 5 would be closer. — **Πλειστοάνακτος**: see on c. 94. 1; 107. 7. As his withdrawal was attributed to bribery (see Plut. *Per.* 22. 2), he was banished, and was not recalled to Sparta till B.C. 425. See ii. 21. 8; v. 16. 30. — 12. **τὸ πλέον**: only here as a local adv., *further*. For it, **ἐς τὸ πλεῖον**, ii. 21. 7; iv. 128. 10. *Cf.* **βραχύ τι, ὀλίγον προελθεῖν**. v. H. reads **κἀς** for **καί**.

15. **κατεστήσαντο κτέ**: *i.e.* by formal agreements they arranged the constitutions of the towns to suit their own interests. *Cf.* c. 76. 2; iii. 18. 6; iv. 107. 1. See App. **παρεστήσαντο**, which Cobet prefers, comparing c. 29. 22; 98. 8, would not be so suitable. — 16. **ἐξοικίσαντες**: occurs again in Thuc. only vi. 76. 8, = **ἀναστήσαντες**, ii. 27. 1; 99. 9; iv. 54. 15; v. 1. 3. Acc. to Theopompus (Strab. x. 1. 3) they were received in Macedonia. — **αὐτοί**: *cf.* c. 98. 4; 100. 11. The place, which was occupied by 2000 (Strab. *l.c.*) or 1000 (Diod. xii. 22) Attic citizens, was afterwards named **Ὠρεός**, from a primitive deme of the Hestiaeans. *Cf.* viii. 95. 35. Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 549. Plut., *Per.* 23. 4 says this severity was shown because they had killed the crew of an Attic ship. Plut. also represents that Pericles dispossessed the **ἱπποβόται** of Chalcis, who had been driven out long before; Hdt. v. 77. 11. See Am. J. Ph. III. p. 456 ff.; Müller-Strübing, *Arist.* p. 86.

115. *Conclusion of the thirty years'*.

τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.

* Ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο περὶ Πριήνης· καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων· ξυνεπελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν. πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παῖδας, ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λῆμνον

truce between Athens and Sparta; revolt of Samos.

3. **ἀποδόντες**: aor. partic., expressing the condition. See on c. 101. 12; 108. 13. — **Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν**: we have not been told of the occupation of either; though the expeditions of c. 105 and 111. § 2. 3, may have had such results. For Ἀχαΐαν Cobet and Kr. needlessly propose Ἀλιάδα or Ἀλιᾶς, where, in c. 105. 1, the Athenians are defeated. Achaea, however, can have been only partially in possession of the Athenians. *Cf.* c. 111. 14. The same places are named in iv. 21. 13 as ceded by this treaty. Curtius, *Pel.* I. 422. — 4. **Πελοποννησίων**: *cf.* v. 39. 4, *περὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀλλήλων*. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 10, 2.

7. **περὶ Πριήνης**: neither in Diod. xii. 27, nor Plut. *Per.* 24, do we learn any details. — **ἐλασσούμενοι**: partic. pres., not of a single defeat, but implying continued disadvantage. *Cf.* c. 77. 1; viii. 89. 27. — 8. **κατεβόων**: with gen., of indignant complaints. *Cf.* c. 67. 4; v. 45. 18. — 9. **ξυνεπελαμβάνοντο**: abs.; the object of the common effort is to be gathered from the context. So iii. 74. 3; viii. 92. 31. — **ἰδιῶται**: *non-official.* This word, which Kr. brackets, is amply defended by the usage noted on c. 74. 4, and the analogy of other such combinations of *ἀνήρ* in Thuc. So with *στρατηγός* and *ξένος*, c. 74. 4, 9; *μάντις*, iii. 20. 9; *δημαγωγός*, iv. 21. 9; *φυγάς*, iv. 76. 7; vi. 12. 4; *τύραννος*, vi. 85. 1; *περίοικος*, viii. 6. 21; *στρατιώτης*, ii. 89. 1; vii. 61. 1; 77. 34. — 10. **νεωτερίσαι**: elsewhere used only abs. or with neut. pron. obj., as *τι* (c. 102. 13; iii. 75. 23; iv. 51. 3; 80. 8), *οὐδέν*, *μηδέν* (c. 58. 3; ii. 3. 6; 73. 14; iii. 4. 15; 11. 2). So here *τὴν πολιτείαν* is probably to be taken, not as direct obj., but as acc. of specification, for which in ii. 73. 14 we have *περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν*; vii. 87. 6, *ἐς ἀσθένειαν*. The constitution of Samos was at this time aristocratic.

11. **δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν**: opp. to *καταλύειν*, viii. 47. 17; 63. 10. Plut., *Per.* 25. 4, makes Pericles conduct this first expedition. — 13. **ἴσους**: after numbers, *an equal number of.* *Cf.* ii. 97. 6; iii. 75. 12; 113. 22; iv. 1. 2; v. 20. 12; 57. 12. — **κατέθεντο**: *placed for safe keeping.* *Cf.* iii. 28. 14; 35. 5; 72. 2; 102. 2; iv. 57. 19; viii. 3.

καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων 4
ἦσαν γάρ τινες οἳ οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἤπει-
ρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ
Πισσούθνῃ τῷ Ὑστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις
τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες ἐς ἑπτακοσίους διέβησαν
ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ 5
ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς
ὁμήρους κλέψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὑτῶν ἀπέστησαν,
καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἳ
ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσούθνῃ, ἐπί τε Μίλητον
εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δὲ αὐ-
τοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, ὡς ᾔσθοντο, πλεύσαν- 1
τες νανσὶν ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν
νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο (ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς

9.—**14. ἐγκαταλιπόντες**: *i.e.* ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ. **τῶν δὲ Σαμίων κτέ.**: on this involved const., see on c. 72. 1. The **τινες** of the parenthetical sentence must be taken also with **τῶν Σαμίων** as the subj. of **ξυνθέμενοι . . . διέβησαν**.—**15. οὐχ ὑπέμενον**: *would not remain* in the island. So better than with the Schol. to supply **τὴν δημοκρατίαν**. Note the contrast of the neg. impf. and the aor. — **ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον**: probably occupying Anaea; see iii. 19. 8; 32. 4. *Cf.* iv. 75. 7; viii. 19. 3.—**16. τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις**: *i.e.* the heads of the aristocracy; see on c. 24. 13.—**17. ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις**: as Satrap of Lydia. *Cf.* iii. 31. 9.—**18. ἐπικούρους τε**: the third particular. *Cf.* 23; c. 50. 4; 69. 3; 76. 12. This term applied chiefly to hired soldiers in the service of despots or oligarchical factions. *Cf.* ii. 33. 5; 70. 14; iii. 18. 3; 34. 8; iv. 46. 9; vi. 55. 16; viii. 28. 17; 38. 13.—**19. ὑπὸ νύκτα**: *at the approach of night*. *Cf.* ii. 92. 22.

20. **ἐπανέστησαν**; *rose against*, of intestine party warfare. *Cf.* v. 23. 16; viii. 63. 15; 73. 4; and so **ἐπανάστασις**, ii. 27. 10; iv. 56. 16; viii. 21. 2.—**21. κλέψαντες**: Cobet with some Mss. reads **ἐκκλέψαντες**, as the proper word for the stealthy removal of *persons*. *Cf.* Hom. E 390.—**22. τοὺς ἄρχοντας**: also with **Ἀθηναίων**. See on c. 91. 26. The addition **οἳ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν** (see on c. 20. 3) implies rather civil than military officers. Such under the name of **ἐπίσκοποι** or **φύλακες** (*cf.* iv. 104. 14, **ὃς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρῆν αὐτοῖς φύλαξ τοῦ χωρίου**) were established among the dependent allies. Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* p. 525. Stahl, *De sociorum Atheniensium iudiciis*, p. 4.

116. *Pericles defeats the fleet of the Samians, and besieges their city.*

1. **ὡς ᾔσθοντο**: see on c. 95. 21.—2. **ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα**: the art. with numerals designates them as parts of a whole; so in 8, **αἱ εἴκοσι**. See on c. 74. 6.—3. **ἔτυχον οἰχόμεναι**: *had sailed away*; belongs both to **αἱ μέν** and **αἱ**

προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν), τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες· ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι· καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσ- 2
σαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα. Περικλῆς δὲ 3
λαβὼν ἑξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν ᾤχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν· ᾤχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στησαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοι-

δέ, the purposes being expressed by *ἐς προσκοπήν* and *περιαγγέλλουσαι* (see on c. 39. 2). Perhaps we should read *περιαγγελοῦσαι*. But see GMT. 109, 5. This word has the const. of *κελεύειν*. *Cf.* ii. 10. 2; 80. 13; iv. 8. 5; v. 54. 8; in vi. 88. 35 with *κελεύειν*. — 4. **προσκοπήν**: only here in Attic. — **τῶν . . . νεῶν**: the hostile fleet which was constantly looked for. — 6. **δεκάτου αὐτοῦ**: among the nine was the poet Sophocles. Strabo, xiv. 1. 18. For the expression, see on c. 61. 5. — 7. **Τραγίᾳ**: in Plut. *Per.* 25, *Τραγίαι*; in Strabo, xiv. 1. 7, *τὰ περὶ τὰς Τραγαίας νησία*, placed by the ancient authorities near the Ionic coast; by Ross, *Inselreise*, I. p. 40, note 10, identified with Makares between Naxos and Donussa. Kiepert marks Tragiae just south of Samos. — 8. **στρατιώτιδες**: were properly transports (Böckh, *P. Ec.* p. 380). See vi. 43. 6; viii. 62. 6; called *ὁπλιταγωγοί*, vi. 25. 9; 31. 21; viii. 25. 5; 30. 10. — 9. **ἀπὸ Μιλήτου**: they had made use of their recovered independence first in an attempt on their hated rival. See c. 115. 24.

12. **κρατοῦντες**: *being superior;* not by a battle; but the Samians withdrew behind their walls before superior numbers. — **ἐπολιόρκουν**: *proceeded to besiege.* — **τρισὶ τείχεσι**: *i.e.* a wall or perhaps a fort on each of the three land sides. — 14. **ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν**: see on c. 112. 6. — 15. **ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας**: *καί* joins part to whole. *Cf.* iii. 51. 6. — **ἐσαγγελθέντων**: see on c. 7. 2, and *cf.* Dem. L. 17; *σημανθέντων*, Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4. 18. GMT. 110, 1, N. 3; H. 973 a; Kühn. 486, note 2; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 4, 5. — 16. **ἐπ' αὐτούς**: *against the Athenians;* not as P. thinks, 'to help the Samians.' See on c. 95. 8. But in fact *ἐσαγγελθέντων* is equivalent to *ἐσήγγειλαν γάρ τινες*, which would require *αὐτούς* (not *σφᾶς*) in reference to the Athenians. — **ᾤχετο**: *cf.* c. 28. 8 for this emphatic repetition. — 17. **Στησαγόρας**: not else-

117 νίσσας. * ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἐξαπιναίως ἔκπλουν 1
ποιησάμενοι ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τάς
τε προφυλακίδας ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς
ἀνταναγομένας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυ-
τοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περὶ τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα καὶ ἐσε-
κομίσαντο καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλοντο. ἐλθόντος δὲ 2
Περικλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλῄσθησαν. καὶ ἐκ
τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν
αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ἄγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες,
εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου

where named.—**ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας**: *to bring up, fetch, the Phoenician ships.*

117. *After a short suspension of the rigour of the blockade, Pericles brings the siege of Samos to an end.*

2. **τῷ στρατοπέδῳ**: the sequel shows that this means the ships of the blockading squadron, probably ranged on the shore of the harbour; **ἀφράκτῳ** in pred. position, *not being protected;* they had not been sheltered by *στανρώματα*. *Cf.* vi. 66. 8; vii. 25. 19; 38. 12.—**τὰς προφυλακίδας ναῦς**: *i.e.* ships moored afloat and ready manned, which lay off the camp as a sort of lookout or guard.—3. **τὰς ἀνταναγομένας**: *which put out to resist them.* See App. on c. 29. 18.—4. **ἐνίκησαν**: aor., *they won the victory.* The three following aors. are complexive, and state summarily the events of the interval named.

6. **ἐλθόντος**: = *ἐπανελθόντος*. *Cf.* c. 136. 11; iv. 16. 19; 65. 10.—7. **πάλιν**: belongs to *κατεκλῄσθησαν* with the addition *ταῖς ναυσί*, because it was only *ἐκ θαλάσσης* (c. 116. 13) that the blockade had been interrupted. So Herbst, Philol. 1866, p. 618 f.—8. **τεσσαράκοντα μὲν . . . Ἀντικλέους**: *i.e.* in two divisions in succession, as the preparations were completed. The repetition of *αἱ* implies that both squadrons formed parts of a whole. The five commanders named must no doubt be regarded as strategi; and, as none of them occurs in the list of eight strategi given by the Schol. on *Aristid.* III. p. 485 for the first year of the Samian war, they must have been chosen for the second year. Cl. agrees with Curtius (*Griech. Ges.* II.[4] p. 825, 61) that elections for the *στρατηγία* took place in the winter. But see K. F. Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalt.* § 152, 2; and Gilbert, *Inn. Gesch. Ath.* p. 12 ff., who gives strong grounds for thinking that the *ἀρχαιρεσίαι* occurred in the ninth Prytany, *i.e.* toward the end of Munychion, = Apr. The *στρατηγοί* thus elected would enter their office at the beginning of the Attic year; and we need not, therefore, with Cl., place the arrival of these reinforcements so late as the beginning of 439; though the siege may have ended then. The Thucydides here named is probably the son of Melesias, who, though ostracized in 444, may have been recalled. For the reasons against this, see Th. Hoffmann, *De Thuc. Mel. fil.* Hamb. 1867, p. 39. Others suppose

καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα. καὶ ναυμαχίαν μέν τινα βραχεῖαν 3
ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν * ἐξε-
πολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ,
τείχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παρα-
δόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξά-
μενοι ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ
πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

118 Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστε- 1
ρον τὰ προειρημένα, τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδαια-
τικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη.
ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρός τε 2
ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα

the historian is meant. Certainty cannot be reached. Hermes, 12, p. 349, note 32; Grote, V. c. 47, p. 291. Hagnon (ii. 58. 1; 95. 16) and Phormio (ii. 29. 30; 68. 20; 80. 21; 84. 5; 90 ff.) are active in the Peloponnesian war. Tlepolemus and Anticles are not mentioned again.

11. **βραχεῖαν**: *insignificant*. *Cf.* c. 14. 11; 74. 22; ii. 22. 9; iii. 39. 38. — 13. **ἐνάτῳ μηνί**: since the beginning of the siege, c. 116. 12, in summer of 440. — **προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ**: = *ὡμολόγησαν*, c. 101. 12; 108. 12; and construed with the partic. aor. in the same way. — 15. **χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα**: position as in c. 1. 6. The cost of the war acc. to Isocr. xv. 111, was 1000 tal.; acc. to Nep. *Timoth.* 1., 1200; Diod. xii. 28, only 200. But here Kr. conjectures that **χιλίων** has fallen out. — **κατὰ χρόνους**: *by instalments*. Kirchhoff, *Gesch. d. Ath. Staatsschatzes*, p. 43 (Abh. der Berl. Ak. 1876). — **ταξάμενοι**: see on c. 99. 11. This Samian war was always regarded as one of the most critical for Athens; see viii. 76. 15. As to the wish of some Peloponnesian states to aid Samos, see c. 40. 18; 41. 8. — 17. **ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον**: see on c. 74. 25. — **εἶναι**: after *ξυμβαίνειν* without **ὥστε**. *Cf.* ii. 4. 31; iv. 54. 10.

118. *Connexion with the earlier narrative. The Lacedaemonians consult the Delphian oracle.*

1. **οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν**: only three years; for the first misunderstanding about Epidamnus occurred in 436. See c. 25. — 2. **τά τε κτέ.**: Corcyra, c. 24–55; Potidaea, c. 56–65. — 3. **καὶ ὅσα κτέ.**: beside these affairs the transactions in the Spartan assembly, c. 67–88. — **πρόφασις**: not 'pretext,' but *occasion*, as in c. 23. 23.

4. **ταῦτα ξύμπαντα**: c. 24–117. — **πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον**: the later events, as nearer to the speaker, placed first, as in c. 97. 4. But in 6 the chronological order is observed in consequence of the express designation of time. This period, from 480 to 431, embraces what may with sufficient accuracy (*μάλιστα*, see on c. 13. 11) be said to have been 50 years, and so the old gramma-

μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἰέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχύς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον.

rians applied the term **πεντηκονταετία** or **πεντηκονταετηρίς** to it. — **7. ἐν οἷς**: as in c. 89. 2, referring not merely to the period of **πεντήκοντα ἔτη** but to the events just summed up. — **τὴν ἀρχήν**: their empire regarded externally. — **ἐγκρατεστέραν**: *with a firmer hold*; pred. to **κατεστήσαντο**, as **βεβαιότερα** in iii. 18. 7. *Cf.* c. 76. 6, **ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς**. The process is described in c. 99. — **8. αὐτοί**: *at home*, by the development of their internal resources. — **ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως**: see on c. 5. 10. — **10. ἐπὶ βραχύ**: *to a trifling extent*. See on c. 117. 11. The reference is to the invasion of Attica in 445 (c. 114. § 2) and to their opposition to the rebuilding of the walls, c. 90 ff. — **μὴ ταχεῖς**: the use of **μή** here seems so strange that Sh. writes **οὐ** instead, supposing, as Arn. had suggested, that **οὐ** was first lost because of the preceding **τοῦ**; and when it was missed was supplied by the copyist after the usage of his own time, perhaps influenced by c. 132. 26. But **μὴ ταχεῖς** may be defended by regarding it as = **τῶν μὴ ταχέων ὄντες**· A descriptive phrase such as **οἱ μὴ ταχεῖς ὄντες** when used as a pred. would lose its art. *Cf.* **ἴξοιδα, παῖ, φύσει σε μὴ πεφυκότα**, Soph. *Phil.* 79; **ὃ χρὴ γὰρ οὐδεὶς μὴ χρεὼν θήσει ποτέ**, Eur. *H. F.* 311; Antiphon, v. 82; **ἐπεὶ ἔγνων ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἱκανὸν κτέ.**, Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 2. 22. See Gildersleeve, Justin Martyr, I. c. 9. 4.

11. ἰέναι: see on c. 78. 7. — **12. ἀναγκάζοιντο**: opt. of repetition. *Cf.* c. 18. 28; 49. 14. — **τὸ δέ τι**: see on c. 107. 19. — **οἰκείοις**: see c. 101, 102. — **ἐξειργόμενοι**: *sc.* **τοῦ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κωλύειν**. *Cf.* ii. 13. 35. — **13. πρὶν δή**: *until at last*. *Cf.* c. 132. 28; iii. 29. 5; 104. 42; vii. 39. 5. **ἡσύχαζον** in 10 is in effect a negative verb, "they took no actual steps," and so **πρίν** takes the finite verbs regularly; here in the impf., "began to exalt itself," "undertook to lay hands upon." — **14. ξυμμαχίας**: in concrete sense, "the members of their alliance." *Cf.* c. 19. 8; 119. 4; ii. 7. 15; 9. 13, 21; v. 40. 4. — **οὐκέτι ... ἐποιοῦντο**: occurs again ii. 21. 11. — **15. ἐπιχειρητέα**: see on c. 7. 2; 79. 6; ii. 3. 10. **ἐδόκει** is taken first impers. and then with subject **ἡ ἰσχύς**. — **16. ἀραμένοις**: agreeing with an under-

Αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λε- 3
λύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν, πέμ-
ψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν
ἄμεινον ἔσται. ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κρά-
τος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἕφη ξυλλήψεσθαι
119 καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος. * αὖθις δὲ τοὺς ξυμμά- 1
χους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ
πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμα-
χίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οἵ τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο,
κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ
κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἑκάστων ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι
τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ μὴ προδια-

stood *σφίσιν*, agent to the verbal adjectives.

18. **αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν κτέ.**: resumption of the narrative broken off in c. 87. § 6. *αὐτοῖς*, dat. as in c. 46. 1; 48. 1; 50. 20. This refers to the Lacedaemonian assembly, without their allies, who are summoned to assist in c. 119, *αὖθις δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κτέ.* — 20. **ἐπηρώτων**: often used of the consulting of oracles. *Cf.* c. 25. 3; ii. 54. 13; iii. 92. 19 (aor. *ἐπήροντο*); Hdt. i. 53. 9; vii. 169. 4. — 21. **ἄμεινον**: the opposite possibility omitted. *Cf.* c. 73. 7; 102. 16; vi. 9. 4. So often in oracular utterances. *Cf.* ii. 17. 9; Hdt. i. 187. 8. — **κατὰ κράτος**: *with all their might*. *Cf.* c. 64. 14; ii. 54. 14 (referring to this passage); iv. 23. 10; v. 116. 10; viii. 1. 20. — 22. **αὐτός**: goes with *ξυλλήψεσθαι*. *Cf.* ii. 54. 15; iii. 27. 9. — 23. **παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος**: in reverse order in vi. 87. 9, *οὐκ ἄκλητοι, παρακληθέντες δέ*. *ἄκλητος* is short for *ἀπαράκλητος*; *cf.* ii. 98. 12. *Cf.* also Hor. *Car.* ii. 18. 40, vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

LAST DEBATES AND NEGOTIATIONS AT SPARTA AND ATHENS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR, Chaps. 119–146; WITH THE EPISODES OF THE END OF PAUSANIAS AND OF THEMISTOCLES, Chaps. 128–138.

119. *Deliberation of the Peloponnesian allies at Sparta on the question of war.*

1. **αὖθις . . . παρακαλέσαντες**: with reference to c. 67. 3, 9; 87. 11. — 2. **ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν**: see on c. 87. 13. — 3. **ξυμμαχίας**: see on c. 118. 14. — 4. **ἃ ἐβούλοντο**: *i.e.* what they regarded as their interest, as in c. 67. — 5. **οἱ πλείους**: appos. to *οἱ ἄλλοι*, though only a portion of the latter is meant. *Cf.* c. 2. 24; 18. 2. — 7. **ἑκάστων**: depends on *δεηθέντες, κατὰ πόλεις* giving the principle of distribution; *the separate allied states*. — **ὥστε**: after *δεηθέντες* is pleonastic, but serves to emphasize the object to be attained. See App. on c. 28. 18. *Cf.* iii. 75. 4; vi. 88. 47; vii. 86. 14; viii. 79. 2. Kühn. 473, note 6. — 8. **δεδιότες**: subord. to *δεηθέντες* as its motive. *Cf.* c. 31. 5; 67. 6; 75.

φθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε·

120 "Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ 1
ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὡς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν, οὐχὶ δι- 2

11. — **μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ**: see c. 65. § 3. — 9. **παρόντες . . . τότε**: opp. to *δεηθέντες . . . πρότερον*, as they had before appealed to individual states, so now they came to the assembly to further their object. *παρόντες* = *παραγενόμενοι*. *Cf.* iii. 3. 19; 69. 11; iv. 107. 13; 124. 26; vii. 1. 11; viii. 17. 14. Ullrich, *Kr. Beitr.* III. 5 ff., proposes *παριόντες*, but the sense would rather require *παρελθόντες*; *cf.* c. 67. 16; 139. 23. In vi. 15. 1; viii. 68. 7, *παριών* stands in definite relation to an impf. — **τελευταῖοι**: so also c. 67. 16. — **ἐπελθόντες**: see on c. 72. 15.

SPEECH OF THE CORINTHIAN ENVOYS. Chaps. 120–124.

120. *After the example of the Lacedaemonians, we ought all to declare for war without further hesitation, free equally from cowardly desire of repose and from excessive assurance of victory.*

1. **τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους**: placed thus at the beginning to emphasize the change of sentiment, which no longer requires the rebukes of c. 68 ff., and in opp. to *ἡμῶν δέ* of 6. — 3. **καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο ξυνήγαγον**: this clause also depends on *ὡς οὐ*, referring especially to the reproach of the Corinthians, c. 69. 8. To *οὐδὲ ἐπὶ φανεροῖς* there is here opp. *ἐς τοῦτο*, *i.e.* the distinct purpose *τοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ψηφίσασθαι*. See Stahl, Jahrb. 1863, p. 477. — **γάρ**: introduces the reason for the commendation of the action just implied. Sh. renders it 'of course.' — 4. **τὰ ἴδια**: the special interests of particular members of the league (*cf.* c. 82. 26), including especially those of the Lacedaemonians themselves. — **ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας**: *administering impartially*, without claiming any preference. *Cf.* iii. 12. 12; iv. 62. 21; 117. 14; and for *νέμειν*, viii. 70. 9; Hdt. i. 59. 34; v. 92. 33; and see on c. 71. 6. — 5. **ὥσπερ . . . προτιμῶνται**: in contrast with *προσκοπεῖν*. For the thought, *cf.* Xen. *An.* iii. 1. 37. "As on other occasions (meetings for counsel, conduct of war, *etc.*; *cf.* v. 29. 14) the foremost place is conceded to them by all." For *ἐκ* = *ὑπό*, mostly Ion. and poetic, see Kühn. 430, 2, 3 c. See on c. 20. 10; iii. 69. 3; vi. 36. 9.

6. **ἡμῶν**: includes all the *ξύμμαχοι*, divided into *ὅσοι μὲν . . . ἐνηλλάγησαι* and *τοὺς δὲ . . . κατφκημένους*. — **ἐνηλλάγησαν**: not found elsewhere, though recognized by Thom. Mag. p. 80, 1, and by the Schol., who explains *συνέμιξαν καὶ ὡμίλησαν*. Since this verb elsewhere always means 'exchange,' Madvig, *Adv.* I. p. 308, proposes *ἐν ἀλλαγῇ ἦσαν*, *in commercio fuerunt*. — **ἤδη**: often used of an appeal to experience. See on ii. 77. 15. — 7

δαχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἕξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὡραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὧν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἠπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω προοῖντο, κἂν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἧσσον νῦν βουλεύεσθαι. διόπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μέν ἐστιν, εἰ 3

ὥστε: after διδαχῆς, as in viii. 45. 20 after διδάσκειν. See on c. 119. 7. — 7. **τὴν μεσόγειαν . . . κατῳκημένους**: elsewhere κατῳκῆσθαι has only adverbial designations of place. *Cf.* ii. 96. 7; 99. 20; iii. 34. 2; v. 83. 13. The acc. would properly require an act. form as in viii. 108. 19. v. H. proposes to insert κατά. — 8. **ἐν πόρῳ**: *in the track of commerce*, particularly on the coast. *Cf.* vi. 48. 8. — 9. **τοῖς κάτω**: Schol. τοῖς παραλίοις: placed for emphasis before the conj. *Cf.* c. 19. 4; and see on c. 77. 6. — **χαλεπωτέραν κτέ.**: a favorite turn of Thuc. for χαλεπωτέρα αὐτοῖς ἔσται, used often in expressions of change. *Cf.* c. 82. 18; ii. 62. 7; iii. 11. 16; 13. 36; 82. 16; iv. 10. 13; 62. 7; 92. 24; v. 69. 13; vii. 63. 10; 77. 18; viii. 45. 16. — 10. **τὴν κατακομιδήν**: prop. of conveyance to the coast, implies also subsequent exportation; as also ἡ ἀντίληψις does importation. Both being necessary parts of commercial exchange, are included, with their gens. and the adv. **πάλιν** (which belongs closely to ἀντίληψιν), under one art. *Cf.* c. 54. 4; ii. 64. 26; iii. 2. 6; 56. 7; v. 5. 1; Dem. 11. 9. — **τῶν ὡραίων**: *the products of the land. Cf.* iii. 58. 18. — 11. **μὴ κακοὺς . . . εἶναι**: *and not to be careless judges of the things now said as if they concerned them not.* **μή** with **προσηκόντων** from the imv. force of **χρή**. *Cf.* vii. 77. 35; Ar. *Ran.* 128, ὡς ὄντος γε μὴ βαδιστικοῦ. See Kühn. 515, 3. — 13. **ποτε**: belongs to ἂν προελθεῖν = ὅτι ἂν προέλθοι, the prot. being εἰ προοῖντο (*cf.* 17 and 22), the ideal form of the cond. sent. giving greater generalty to the supposition than the anticipatory (with ἦν) would do, which might seem more natural here. See on 16. — **τὸ δεινόν**: *the danger. Cf.* c. 70. 11; 84. 8; iii. 22. 26. — 14. **βουλεύεσθαι**: does not depend, as Cl. says, on **χρή**, but on a verb of thinking implied in **προσδέχεσθαι**. "They must understand that their own interests are at least as much involved in the present deliberation as those of others."

16. **μεταλαμβάνειν**: *to take in exchange. Cf.* vi. 18. 19; 87. 25. — **ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων**: *men of discretion. Cf.* c. 40. 8. This term is not opp. to **ἀγαθῶν** ('courageous,' 'resolute'), but the latter is set forth as the higher quality. In the view of the Corinthians it is **ἀδικία** on the part of the Athenians to menace the interests of

μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζεω, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιω ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῷ ἡσυχίῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι. ὅ τε γὰρ 4 διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφαιρεθείη τῆς ῥᾳστώνης τὸ τερπνὸν δι' ὅπερ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὅ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων 5 τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντα κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλέω ἃ καλῶς

the inland states. — 17. **εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο**: this opt., for which, as P. says, *ἐάν* with subj. would be more usual, occurs chiefly in dependence on an inf., and is to be regarded as a relic of the epic use of the mood. See examples with rel. in Kühn. 560, 4; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 14, 4. *Cf.* c. 121. 13; iii. 10. 5. In 13 *εἰ προοῖντο* appears formally regular through the apod. *κἂν προελθεῖν* = *ὅτι προέλθοι ἄν*, which is, however, merely an aoristic future. — **ἀδικουμένους**: not attracted to gen., the inf. not being that of a copulative verb. Kühn. 475, 2 a. — **ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης**: *ἐκ* used of immediate transition from state to state. *Cf.* Dem. XIX. 133, *ἐκ πολέμου ποιούμενος εἰρήνην*. — 18. **παρασχόν**: *παρέσχεν* and *παρασχήσει* (in Hdt. also *παρέχει, παρέξει*, iii. 73. 2; 142. 10) impers. of an opportunity presenting itself. *Cf.* iv. 85. 8; vi. 86. 22; most freq. in abs. partic., v. 14. 11; 60. 25; 63. 3. GMT. 110, 2; H. 973. — 20. **τῷ ἡσυχίῳ κτέ.**: for neut. adj. as subst., see on c. 36. 3. *ἡσύχιος* (Hdt. i. 107. 13) expresses a constant and habitual tranquillity more than the commoner *ἥσυχος*. *ἡδόμενον* is for *ἡδομένους*, as if *τινα* had preceded; *from the pleasure one takes in the tranquillity of peace to allow himself to be wronged.* For this permissive use of the pass., see Kr. *Spr.* 52, 11, 3. *Cf.* iii. 82. 51.

ὅ τε γὰρ κτέ.: the order of the clauses here is chiastic to the preceding. — 21. **τῆς ῥᾳστώνης**: *undisturbed enjoyment;* in this sense rare in early writers. Plat. *Gorg.* 459 c; *Rep.* 460 d, 'facility'; Hdt. iii. 136. 8, 'compliance with.' — 22. **εἰ ἡσυχάζοι**: *if he give himself up to inactivity*, carrying out his character as *ὀκνῶν*. — 23. **πλεονάζων**: *presuming on;* probably here only in this sense; different in ii. 35. 12. — **ἐντεθύμηται**: with partic; *cf.* ii. 62. 5; vi. 78. 3. Usually with *ὅτι*, ii. 43. 9; v. 111. 4; vii. 64. 11. The pf. expresses the firm hold of a conviction. (Intensive pres. pf.; Curtius, *Verbum*, II. p. 156 ff.) *Cf.* Plat. *Phaed.* 86 b. — **θράσει ἀπίστῳ**: *ill-grounded self-confidence.*

25. **τυχόντα**: so Cobet (*ad Hyp.* p. 46), for *τυχόντων* of the best Mss., to which the preceding words might easily have led. "Many ill-contrived schemes have succeeded because by good luck they have had to deal with adversaries yet more ill-advised." But Herbst, Philol. 1866, p. 651, and Stahl. Jahrb. 1863, p. 412, decidedly prefer *τυχόντων* (with omitted *ὄντων*: see on c. 32. 9, and *cf.*, for this omission even with gen. abs., Pind. *Pyth.*

δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοὐναντίον αἰσχρῶς περιέστη· ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν.

121 "Ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρο- 1
μεν καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα
Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ. κατὰ πολλὰ 2
δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προύχον-
τας καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως πάντας ἐς τὰ

IV. 5, οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος). Herbst says that when τυγχεῖν in Thuc. means 'hit,' it implies previous aim; *cf.* iii. 39. 42; 42. 18, 26; 82. 31; iv. 22. 13. — **κατωρθώθη**: empiric aor.; *cf.* c. 69. 31; 70. 24. The mid. κατορθοῦσθαι only with thing as subj., ii. 65. 28; iv. 76. 21; vi. 13. 7, while the act. is used in same sense of things (v. 111. 27; vi. 33. 26) and persons (c. 140. 8; ii. 42. 20; 89. 8; iii. 14. 5; 39. 39; 42. 28; vi. 11. 5; 12. 7; 17. 14; 38. 8; vii. 42. 34; 47. 4; 66. 7; 68. 9; viii. 2. 7; 109. 7). — **καὶ ἔτι πλέω (ἐστὶ) ἅ**: Cobet wrongly omits ἅ, connecting πλέω περιέστη directly. For thus πλέω and the opposition of καλῶς and αἰσχρῶς would be less prominent. — 26. **περιέστη**: see on c. 32. 15; 76. 21. — 27. **ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ** κτέ.: this clause gives the reason of what immediately precedes. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι is here, as in ii. 40. 9; 60. 20; viii. 68. 6, *form a plan* (not, as usual, 'deliberate,' 'consider'); and to this ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι is opposed (*cf.* c. 84. 17). To both verbs belongs ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει: "no one forms a plan and carries it out with unchanged confidence." See App. — 29. **δοξάζομεν**: takes the place of ἐνθυμεῖσθαι in an unfavourable sense, *we form fallacious notions*, just as ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν repeats what precedes with greater distinctness.

121. *We have excellent reasons in our numbers and warlike experience to hope for success; and we shall be able to meet the Athenians at sea, if we resolutely use the pecuniary means at our disposal.*

1. **ἡμεῖς δὲ** κτέ.: the general statement of c. 120. 17 (ἀγαθῶν δὲ . . . ξυμβῆναι) is now shown to hold of the Peloponnesians. On δέ introducing a particular instance, see on c. 32. 7. The two partics., ἀδικούμενοι and ἔχοντες, together give the single reason for τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν, by which they are separated, as usual in Thuc. (see on c. 91. 20). — **πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν**: also in Hdt. viii. 142. 8, imitates ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν Ἄρηα, which occurs five times in Hom. (Β 440; Δ 352; Θ 531; Σ 304; Τ 237). — 2. **ἀμυνώμεθα**: aor. subjv. — 3. **καταθησόμεθα αὐτόν**: *will bring the war to an end. Cf.* iv. 20. 7; Lys. XXXIII. 6; Dem. XIX. 264; *cf.* the simple τίθεσθαι in c. 82. 27; viii. 84. 19. — **ἐν καιρῷ**: answers to εὖ παρασχόν, c. 120. 18.

κατὰ πολλά: *on many grounds; cf.* c. 33. 2; 123. 8. — 4. **ἐπικρατῆσαι**: see on c. 81. 13. — 5. **ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ**: with the implied limitation ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, which is added by Phormio in ii. 89. 8, and is really involved in

παραγγελλόμενα ἰόντας, ναυτικόν τε, ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς 3
ὑπαρχούσης τε ἑκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων· δάνεισμα γὰρ
ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοί τ' ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς
ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὠνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις
μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἥσσον ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι,
τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασι. μιᾷ τε 4
νίκῃ ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἁλίσκονται· εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν,
μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ
ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐ-
ψυχίᾳ δήπου περιεσόμεθα· ἃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει
ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ἃ δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπι-

the closely connected dat. πλήθει. — **ὁμοίους πάντας**: see on 93. 8; *cf.* ii. 11. 39, πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους. — **τὰ παραγγελλόμενα**: particularly used of military orders; *cf.* ii. 11. 39; 84. 18; 89. 40; iv. 34. 23; and again with ἰέναι ἐς, iii. 55. 13. The expression well describes the κόσμος of the Dorian discipline. — 6. **ναυτικόν τε**: the third reason; see on c. 33. 2. Therefore δέ of the Vat. is to be rejected. — 7. **ἐξαρτυσόμεθα**: see on c. 13. 5. The confidence of the speaker in the result of his advice requires the fut. (as in 19, οἴσομεν), though most Mss. have ἐξαρτυσάμεθα. — 8. **ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ**: so in ii. 13. § 4 Pericles suggests a similar resource. We may perhaps infer from this that Delphi had again passed out of the hands of the Phocians. See c. 112. § 5. — 9. **ὑπολαβεῖν**: see on c. 68. 18. *Cf.* the reply to this in c. 143. § 1. — 10. **ξένους**: only here a complete adj.; in c. 143. 3 it is τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν. The sailors from the allied cities and islands serving in Attic ships are meant. — **ναυβάτας**: a poetic word (Aesch. *Pers.* 375, 1011; Soph. *Aj.* 348; *Phil.* 270), occurs again vii. 75. 44; viii. 44. 3. Poll. i. 95 calls it τραγικώτερον. — **ὠνητή**: here, *procured by money*; so Soph. *O. T.* 1123; Eur. *Hec.* 365; usually 'purchasable,' as in iii. 40. 2. — 11. **τοῦτο**: *i.e.* loss of men through the temptation of higher pay. — 12. **τοῖς σώμασι ἰσχύουσα**: accordingly οἰκεία.

μιᾷ τε . . . ἁλίσκονται: *and by a single victory at sea it is likely that Athens is* (*i.e.* will be) *taken*. See Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 582, who regards this as one indication that this book was written after the battle of Aegospotami. ἁλίσκονται is here in effect a fut. pf. *Cf.* vi. 91. 10, ἔχεται καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία. — 13. **εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν**: *and supposing they should still hold out*. *Cf.* c. 7. 6; 65. 6; ii. 64. 26. — 14. **μελετήσομεν**: expresses greater confidence than would the more regular μελετῷμεν ἄν; see on c. 120. 17. For the contradiction of this sanguine hope, see c. 142. § 6. — 15. **ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν**: *have placed on a par*. *Cf.* c. 39. 4. — 17. **ἃ δ' . . . πρού-**

στήμῃ προύχουσι, καθαιρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστι μελέτῃ. χρήματα 5
δ' ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐς αὐτὰ οἴσομεν· ἢ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ οἱ μὲν
20 ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπε-
ροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς
πάσχειν.

122 "Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμ- 1
μάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὖσα τῶν προσ-

χουσι: not properly trans., but δ is acc. of measure, like πολύ, c. 25. 20, and πλεῖστον, iv. 12. 18. It is, however, practically *what advantage they have*. — 18. καθαιρετέον: *we must master*. *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 50, μεγάλα πρήγματα μεγάλοισι κινδύνοισι ἐθέλει καταιρέεσθαι. Eur. *Sup.* 749. The verb is a strengthened καταλαμβάνειν. Stahl, Jahrb. 1863, p. 412.

19. ἐς αὐτά: *for this purpose*, viz., the formation of a marine. *Cf.* c. 1. 10; 22. 15; 26. 16; 97. 7. — οἴσομεν: of taxes. *Cf.* c. 19. 6; 80. 20; iv. 57. 21; vi. 84. 12. — δεινὸν ἂν εἴη κτέ.: see on c. 35. 4. Inconsistent thoughts may have their incongruity sufficiently indicated by simple juxtaposition with μέν — δέ. *Cf.* Dem. xxxiv. 26–28. The neg. οὐ, which either might then take, may be retained as here, even when the pair (really the attempt to hold the two at the same time) forms the protasis of δεινὸν (ἄτοπον) ἂν εἴη (*cf.* Dem. ii. 24; xxvii. 28; xxxviii. 18; Lys. xx. 19; xxii. 13; xxx. 32; Hdt. vii. 9. 6); or εἰ may make itself felt, and suggest μή; and sometimes we have an opt. corresponding to ἂν εἴη of the apod. (*cf.* Lys. xxix. 9, 11; xxx. 16; xxxi. 31; Dem. xviii. 160; xxxiv. 47, 48; Isae. x. 23). The contrasted clauses, which Sh. calls 'bimembered sentences,' sometimes have the inf. (*cf.* Dem. xxxiv. 43). — 20. δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν: see on c. 1. 6. — 21. ἐπὶ τῷ κτέ.: the two objects to be gained are separated by οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν. καί is to be connected with ἅμα; the chastisement of their enemies and their own security go hand in hand. The inferential ἄρα serves here an ironical purpose; a thing is treated as reasonable and as a natural consequence, the exact opposite of which ordinary good sense would assume. To be stingy with our money in the present case would be just as absurd as the inference: 'because the Athenian allies are never tired of subscribing for their own enslavement, we need not contribute anything to maintain our freedom.' *Cf.* Plat. *Apol.* 34 c; 37 d; *Rep.* 600 d; Lys. xii. 36. So in vi. 76. 18, the clauses are in reverse order. — 23. αὐτά: and αὐτοῖς τούτοις refer to χρήματα; "that our property may not be used to our own ruin."

122. *The war itself may suggest other methods of assailing them. Anyhow, shame should prevent us from ever yielding to them.*

1. ὁδοί: metaph. as in c. 69. 12. *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 5, proeliorum vias. — 2. ἀπόστασις: *revolt*, from the intr. ἀποστῆναι, yet no doubt con-

ὁδων αἷς ἰσχύουσι, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε ὅσα οὐκ ἄν τις νῦν προΐδοι. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει. ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἡμῶν 2 *ἑκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαφοραί, οἱστὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλω ἔτι δυνατώτεροι· ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνούμεθα*

ceived as brought about by their enemies, and so **παραίρεσις**, 'withdrawal' (Plat. *Rep.* 573 e), stands as a strictly corresponding notion. A trans. meaning 'seduction' cannot be shown to belong to this or any other compound. Nearest is **κατάστασις**, viii. 72. 10. — **μάλιστα οὖσα**: *showing its main effect in*. *Cf.* iv. 12. 17. — 3. **ἐπιτειχισμός**: or **ἐπιτείχισις**, the occupation of a stronghold on the frontier or in the territory of an enemy; which was carried out in 413 at Decelea. See vi. 91. 25; 93. 6; vii. 18. 29; 28. 13. — **τῇ χώρᾳ**: governed by the verbal noun. *Cf.* c. 63. 9; 73. 1; 96. 10. — 4. **ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς**: *on predetermined conditions*, according to fixed laws. *Cf.* c. 13. 4; 65. 7; 69. 9; 70. 10. The personification of **ὁ πόλεμος** is continued in the following. — 5. **τεχνᾶται**: *devises ways and means*. *Cf.* iv. 26. 32. — 6. **πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον**: *according to circumstances as they arise*. **παρα-** has the effect of **ἀεί**, of what presents itself from time to time; therefore the sing. So the aor., iii. 82. 47; v. 38. 3. — **ἐν ᾧ**: *wherein*. See on c. 39. 11. — **εὐοργήτως κτέ.**: in these phrases the personification of war is maintained. Here **ὀργή** has the general meaning of passionate excitement, as in iii. 82. 19; viii. 83. 16. **εὐόργητος**, properly observing due measure in passion, is nearly = **σώφρων**, 'discreet,' 'sedate.' It recurs only in late writers. — 7. **περὶ αὐτόν**: with **ὀργισθείς**, as **αὐτῷ** with **προσομιλήσας**: *who allows himself to be moved by passion in regard to war*. To read **περὶ αὑτόν** in connexion with **πταίει** does not suit the sense, for mischances in war come from without; and we should have **αὐτῷ**. *Cf.* c. 69. 27; vi. 33. 30; Hdt. ix. 101. 13. — **οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει**: *cf.* iv. 18. 15; vi. 33. 30; *fails not less* (*i.e.* "is surer to fail"), *sc.* 'than another.' *Cf.* vi. 36. 16; vii. 28. 15. The same thought in iv. 18. § 4.

9. **ἀντιπάλους**: *nearly matched*, opponents with whom we could cope. *Cf.* ii. 89. 20. — **οἱστόν**: *tolerable*; classical only here and vii. 75. 46. — 11. **καὶ κατὰ πόλιν**: with this **πρὸς ἡμᾶς** is to be supplied from the former clause, **τε — καί** uniting the two clauses as wholes. — **ἔτι δυνατώτεροι**: = **μᾶλλον ἔτι δυνατοί**. *Cf.* c. 68. 2. — **καὶ ἀθρόοι**: **καί** is intensive, vel universi; this is expanded in **καὶ κατὰ . . . ἄστυ**. — 12. **ἄστυ**: probably to be taken as a part of **ἔθνος** (*cf.* ii. 9. 16; iii. 92. 22); each particular town in Laconia, Boeo-

αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρώσονται. καὶ τὴν ἧσσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινόν τῳ ἀκοῦσαι, ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσαν ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν· ὃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν· ἐν ᾧ ἢ δικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἂν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι, οἳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ ἐῶμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ μονάρχους ἀξιοῦμεν καταλύειν. καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν

tia, *etc.*; or perhaps ἔθνος indicates the larger, and ἄστυ the smaller independent states, answering to καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει in c. 125. 3. — 13. δίχα: *cf.* c. 64. 6; vi. 100. 4. On advs. so used, see Kühn. 353, note 2; Kr. *Spr.* 62, 2, 4. — 14. οὐκ ἄλλο τι: the retention of οὐ after the imv. is due to the fixity of the formula. — 15. ἄντικρυς: to be connected closely with δουλείαν, *downright slavery*. So λίθοι λογάδην, iv. 31. 13; ξυσταδὸν μάχαι, vii. 81. 25. In viii. 64. 23, we have ἡ ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερία, with the art. in the usual way. *Cf.* Ar. *Nub.* 1120. Kühn. 462 m.

ὃ: *but that this* (see on c. 10. 20; 33. 13; 35. 15). This forms the subj. of λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι, "that it should be represented even in words as a possible occurrence." ἐνδοιάζειν (from ἐν δοιῇ, Hom. I 230, as *dubitare* from *duo*, *zweifeln* from *zwei*), to waver between two possibilities (*cf.* c. 36. 9; vi. 91. 20), and so to look upon as conceivable. — 17. ἐν ᾧ: *cf.* 6, here = εἰ δ' ὅμως τοῦτο ξυμβαίη. — ἢ δικαίως πάσχειν: *either to suffer it deservedly*, on account of some unexpressed guilt. This, as hardly probable, is placed first in order to lay stress on the second, the imputation of cowardice, which is then dwelt upon. — δοκοῖμεν ἄν: *men would say of us* χείρους φαίνεσθαι, *that we showed ourselves worse*. So there is no pleonasm in these verbs. — 19. ἡμεῖς δέ: is so directly opp. to οἵ, that the clauses should not, as usual, be separated by a colon. The thought of τῶν πατέρων χείρους is developed on both sides, the relation of which we should naturally express by rendering οἵ, *for while they*. *Cf.* c. 70. § 1; 74. § 1.

20. αὐτό: = τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι or τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, from ἠλευθέρωσαν. *Cf.* c. 68. 9. — τύραννον πόλιν: *cf.* ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ, vi. 85. 1. The usual order in which the general term precedes the special (*cf.* c. 124. 16) is here, as in c. 96. 6, inverted, not to make τύραννον a pred., but to lay greater stress on the opposition to αὐτό (= ἐλευθερίαν); *and allow a despotic state to establish itself in Hellas* (*cf.* c. 124. 15). To this is opposed in parataxis τοὺς δὲ . . . καταλύειν, "while we consider it our business," *etc.* *Cf.* c. 86. § 2. On the fact, see c. 18. 3. The Lacedaemonian policy is regarded as determining that of the whole confederacy. — 21. μονάρχους: this poetic word chosen probably as a variation of τυράννους. *Cf.* Aesch. *Prom.* 324; Ar. *Eq.* 1330; Plat. *Rep.* 575 a.

ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἣ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.

123 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἢ ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν (πάτριον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι), καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἃ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτήθη τῇ περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἰέναι

22. **τάδε**: *such policy.* — **τριῶν**: as δυοῖν in c. 33. 23, before a disjunctive enumeration leaves the choice open. It is different in iii. 40. 7 with conjunctive particles. — **ξυμφορῶν**: in the unusual sense of *faults* to which men are liable. — **ἀπήλλακται**: *can be clear of. Cf.* c. 143. 14; iii. 63. 17; viii. 2. 21. —23. **οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . κεχωρήκατε**: this sentence is not to be taken, as it usually is, as a serious assertion, "for it is not certainly an avoidance of these faults if you have betaken yourselves to contempt"; but just as *οὐ γὰρ δή* is used in v. 111. 3, it implies ironically under the appearance of disbelief a strong suspicion; "for it may be hoped that you have not, while avoiding these faults, fallen into the far worse one of despising your enemy." — 24. **ἐπὶ τὴν . . . καταφρόνησιν**: *cf.* viii. 64. 23. For the paronomasia, *cf.* c. 33. 26; 37. 16. —25. **τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα**: for the accusative, with a pass. verb of naming, *cf.* ii. 37. 3; iv. 64. 12. Kühn. 411, note 7. —26. **μετωνόμασται**: *has had its name changed, i.e.* by those who judge rightly of the matter.

123. *Our confidence is naturally increased by the favourable answer of the oracle.*

1. **ἐς ὅσον**: = *ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον.* So ὅσον alone, iii. 11. 10. — 2. **τοῖς νῦν**: neut., opposed to *τὰ προγεγενημένα* and *τὰ μέλλοντα.* So in 3, *τοῖς παροῦσι. Cf.* c. 132. 8. — **ἔπειτα**: *in the future,* as in iii. 39. 43; often *ἐς (τὸ) ἔπειτα* in this sense. *Cf.* c. 130. 10; ii. 64. 27; iv. 64. 21. — 3. **τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας**: *through the support of what exists.* So with dat. of *thing,* 13; c. 140. 8; ii. 63. 2. — **ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν**: *to labour yet more. Cf.* Plat. *Rep.* 540 b. The force of *ἐπι-* as in *ἐπιχρῆσθαι,* c. 41. 4; *ἐπιτέχνησις,* c. 71. 12; *ἐπιμανθάνειν,* c. 138. 12; *ἐπικτᾶσθαι,* c. 144. 2; iv. 61. 2; *ἐπικρατῆσαι,* c. 121. 4. — 4. **ὑμῖν**: in reference to the character of the Dorian race, and especially of the Lacedaemonians. — **τὰς ἀρετάς**: *the fruits of virtue,* whether in reputation, as in c. 33. 12, or in services to others, as in iii. 53. 20. — 5. **εἰ ἄρα**: *even if it is really true that.* — 6. **ἐξουσίᾳ**: such freedom of action as results from the possession of means. *Cf.* c. 38. 13;

κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος πάσης ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελίᾳ· σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι· ἠδικημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες. 2

124 "Ὥστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν τάδε κοινῇ παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον 1

iii. 45. 17. — **προφέρετε**: see on c. 93. 13; *sc.* *τῶν πατέρων*. — 7. **ἐκτήθη**: this aor. always pass. *Cf.* ii. 36. 12. The pf. also is pass. in ii. 62. 22; vii. 70. 52. — 8. **κατὰ πολλά**: three reasons are given in *τοῦ τε θεοῦ κτέ.*, *καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κτέ.*, *σπονδάς τε κτέ.* (*cf.* c. 33. § 1; 76. 12), though the last is in a changed construction. — **χρήσαντος**: see c. 118. 21. Thuc. uses the verb in this sense only in aor. *Cf.* c. 134. 19; ii. 102. 30; v. 16. 23; 32. 6; in iii. 96. 3, the pass. *χρησθέν*. — 9. **τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος**: including what is still free, as well as the subject-allies of the Athenians. To the former belongs *φόβῳ* (*ἵνα μὴ δουλωθῇ*, Schol.); to the latter, *ὠφελίᾳ*, *i.e.* of gaining their freedom. The dat. for *ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ* (i. 73. 14; *cf.* *κέρδει*, vii. 57. 55) is due to analogy of *φόβῳ*.

11. **σπονδάς**: without art. *Cf.* c. 53. 4. — 12. **παραβεβάσθαι**: this and similar pass. forms of compounds of *βαίνειν*, which are rare, or not found in other Attic writers, are freq. in Thuc. *Cf.* iii. 45. 13; 67. 25; iv. 23. 6; 30. 20; viii. 98. 13. — **ἠδικημέναις**: there is no example of *ἀδικεῖν σπονδάς*, yet it is justified by the connexion = *ἀδίκως παραβαίνειν*. It is really a personification of *Σπονδαί*; "you will vindicate its insulted majesty." This clause is introduced parenthetically by way of encouragement, the following *λύουσι γὰρ κτέ.* giving the reason of what precedes.

124. *Everything, therefore, forces us to the resolution to break down the dangerous power of Athens in Greece, by courageously entering on the war.*

1. **ὑπάρχον**: acc. abs. (see on c. 2. 8; 76. 14; 120. 18) of the impers. *ὑπάρχει, an opportunity offering itself.* *Cf.* c. 82. 26; iii. 63. 6; 109. 20; vii. 63. 6; for *καλῶς*, see on c. 33. 1. — 2. **κοινῇ**: contains the gist of the argument; *in the interest of all* (*cf.* ii. 43. 14), with reference to the proof in c. 120. § 1, 2, that every state of the league is imperiled by the predominance of Athens. The following parenthetical sentence, *εἴπερ . . . εἶναι*, is intended to place the thought of *κοινῇ* in a clear light; but to do this it is necessary to read with Reiske *ταὐτά* for *ταῦτα*; for the speech has nowhere shown that the war (*πολεμεῖν* = *τάδε* = *ταῦτα*) will be of advantage to individuals as well as states, though identity of interests is of the greatest importance. But *καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις* must be connected with *βεβαιότατον*, not with *ξυμφέροντα*, as Thuc. often separates words which in sense belong together; "if the surest

τὸ ταὐτὰ ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτειδαιάταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὖσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὗ πρότερον ἦν τοὐναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μέν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφῖχθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ 2 ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 3

guarantee for states and individuals is identity of interests." See App. — 4. **μέλλετε**: in this sense regularly takes pres. inf. — **ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν**: = *τιμωρεῖν* with dat., *succour*. But in Dem. XXI. 26, = *τιμωρεῖσθαί τινα*, 'inflict vengeance on.' — 5. **οὖσι . . . τοὐναντίον**: for the ascendency of Dorians over Ionians was generally recognized. *Cf.* v. 9. 3; vi. 77. 9; vii. 5. 18. — 6. **μετελθεῖν**: *to strive to win*, here for others, as, in ii. 39. 8, for one's self. — 7. **ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται**: impers., as in c. 140. 9; 142. 25; ii. 87. 11; iv. 18. 20; viii. 27. 15; *since it is no longer admissible*. On this an inf. like *περιορᾶν* should depend with *περιμένοντας*, which implies the subject *ἡμᾶς*, "we can no longer wait and quietly see that," *etc.* But instead of this the new infs. *βλάπτεσθαι* and *πάσχειν* (arranged in parataxis, as in c. 28. 15) are introduced as if depending on *ἐνδέχεται*, with which they have nothing to do. We have, therefore, here, as in c. 18. 21; 39. 15; 61. 9, a change of subject within the period; for *περιμένοντας* with its subject *ἡμᾶς* has, in strictness, no relation to *τοὺς μέν* (probably *τοὺς Ποτειδαιάτας*) and *τοὺς δέ* (*τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους*). — 9. **οὐ τολμῶντες**: the neg. retained, which would occur in the assumed thought of the Athenians, viz. *ξυνῆλθον μέν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐτόλμων*.

10. **ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφῖχθαι**: impers., as in vii. 75. 38, *that things have now come to an extremity, i.e.* that war is necessary. — 11. **ἄριστα**: adj., not adv. *Cf.* c. 145. 2. — **μὴ φοβηθέντες**: *μή* from the imv. — 12. **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**: *i.e. τοῦ πολέμου, coveting the more enduring peace which will result from it* (*cf. τῆς δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης*, ii. 85. 9). *Cf.* c. 12. 5; 23. 27. — 13. **ἐκ πολέμου**: denotes merely the transition from one state to the other. *Cf.* c. 120. 17; Hdt. i. 87, *ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμέειν νέφεα*. — 14. **ἀφ' ἡσυχίας**: denotes the motive as well as the fact of change; **πολεμῆσαι**, aor. ingressive; *from love of repose to refuse to enter upon war*. — **οὐχ ὁμοίως**: *i.e.* as if peace were firmly established. *Cf.* c. 99. 6.

πόλιν τύραννον ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσωμεν."

125 Τοιαῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 1
ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἁπάντων ἤκουσαν γνώμην, ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐξῆς καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν. δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιχειρεῖν 2
ἀπαρασκεύοις οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἑκάστους ἃ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ καθιστα-

16. **πόλιν τύραννον**: see on c. 122. 20. *τύραννον* is not a pred., but *καθεστηκυῖαν* and *καθεστάναι* are purposely repeated in the pregnant sense of 'establishing itself.' — **ἐπὶ πᾶσιν**: *with menace to all. Cf.* c. 102. 19; iii. 63. 3. — 17. **διανοεῖσθαι**: *sc.* *ἄρχειν*. *Cf.* c. i. 7. — 18. **παραστησώμεθα**: see on c. 29. 22. — **τε**: after *αὐτοί*, though only in inferior Mss., is necessary, since the two subjvs. *οἰκῶμεν* and *ἐλευθερώσωμεν* are closely connected as the result of *παραστησώμεθα*.

125. *War is decided on, and the preparations are begun.*

1. **τοιαῦτα . . . εἶπον**: regularly *μέν* is used in this formula (*cf.* c. 36. 22; 72. 1), as *δέ* in summing up an opposing speech (*cf.* c. 44. 1; 79. 1). Here *μέν* is omitted by the best Mss. In ii. 65. 1; 72. 1; 75. 1; iv. 11. 1; 65. 1; 93. 1; 96. 1; 127. 1, which Cl. refers to as similar to the present case, the partic. const. forbids the use of *μέν*. — 2. **γνώμην**: as *ψῆφον* in c. 87. 13, in collective sense without art. *Cf.* c. 128. 28; ii. 2. 24; 86. 17; iii. 92. 11; iv. 125. 20; vii. 72. 8. With this *ἀφ' ἁπάντων* is to be more closely connected than with *ἤκουσαν*. *Cf.* iii. 36. 24; vi. 76. 3. — **ἐπήγαγον**: see on c. 87. 13. — 4. **ἐψηφίσαντο**: with subj., *τὸ πλῆθος*. *Cf.* c. 24. 9; 34. 5; 89. 14; vi. 4. 27.

5. **δεδογμένον**: see on c. 2. 8. The pf. partic. of a resolution adopted without causal connexion with what follows; *δόξαν*, when such a relation exists (*cf.* v. 65. 10; viii. 79. 2; 93. 7); *δοκοῦν*, used of an existing conviction which leads to no resolution (iv. 125. 3). — **ἀδύνατα**: see on c. 7. 2. — 6. **ἐκπορίζεσθαι**: *cf.* c. 82. 11; vi. 83. 9. — **ἑκάστους**: this is Nattmann's conjecture for *ἑκάστοις*, adopted by Cl. because the resolution was taken by the collective body, which the particular states were to execute. But no other recent editor has adopted this conjecture. — 7. **πρόσφορα**: *to the purpose. Cf.* ii. 46. 2; 65. 47; vii. 62. 10; rare in Attic prose. — **μὴ εἶναι**: *cf.* the pregnant use of *εἶναι* with neg., c. 2. 5; 49. 11; *delay must not be allowed.* — **ὅμως δὲ κτέ.**: "in spite of the resolution not to delay there was spent by

μένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερῶς.

126 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη- 1
ναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη
πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἢν μή τι ἐσακούσωσι. καὶ 2
πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέ-
5 λευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ
ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε· Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος 3
τῶν πάλαι εὐγενής τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγα-
τέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν
χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν 4

them making needful preparations not indeed a full year, but somewhat less." *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 39, *τὴν μὲν ἀξίαν οὐ λάμψεαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης.* If the twofold proceedings at Sparta (c. 67–87 and c. 118–125) are compressed as closely as possible after the battle at Potidaea (c. 62), in Sept. 432, the final resolution cannot be placed earlier than October; and since the invasion of Attica took place in June, 431 (see on ii. 2. 7; 19. 4), seven or eight months must have been spent in preparation. For *καθισταμένοις* = *παρασκευαζομένοις*, *cf.* ii. 6. 3; 94. 11; iii. 28. 17; v. 12. 5. — **9. τὸν πόλεμον . . . φανερῶς**: in distinction from the partial breach of the truce by the Thebans in the attack on Plataea, which took place 80 days before (ii. 19. § 1). See Vömel, Frankf. Herbstpr. 1845, p. 8.

126. *Meanwhile the Spartans demand the banishment of the descendants of those who had incurred pollution in the matter of Cylon's attempted usurpation. Narration of this event.*

1. **ἐπρεσβεύοντο**: impf. as introducing the negotiations, which, with various digressions, occupy c. 126–138. — **2. ὅτι μεγίστη πρόφασις**: *the strongest possible excuse. Cf.* c. 141. 4. — **3. ἐσακούσωσι**: *cf.* c. 82. 11. — **4. πρῶτον μέν**: the correl. to this is *ὕστερον δέ* in c. 139. 3. — **5. τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν**: a formula. *Cf.* c. 127. 1; 128. 2; 135. 3; ii. 13. 9; Soph. *O. T.* 97, *μίασμα ἐλαύνειν. τὸ ἄγος = τοὺς ἐναγεῖς, i.e. τοὺς ἐκγόνους τῶν δρασάντων τὸ ἄγος.* — **τῆς θεοῦ**: *sc.* *τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.* — **6. Κύλων ἦν**: for the abrupt form of the commencement, see on c. 24. 1; for the fact, *cf.* Hdt. v. 71. The ancient rhetoricians, admiring the clearness of this narration, said of this writer, *λέων ἐγέλασεν ἐνταῦθα.* Schol. — **Ὀλυμπιονίκης**: probably Ol. 35, B.C. 640; his attempt on the Acropolis, Ol. 42, B.C. 612. *ἀνήρ* may belong to either the preceding or following word (*cf.* Hdt. v. 71), but the latter is more likely since Ὀλυμπιονίκης often stands abs. *Cf.* Plat. *Rep.* 465 d. — **7. τῶν πάλαι**: *cf.* ii. 35. 17. — **8. Θεαγένους**: on him, see Arist. *Pol.* viii. 4. 5 (1505 a, 24); *Rhet.* i. 2. 19; Grote, III. chap. 9, p. 43; Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, I. p. 305. He was contemporary with Periander of Corinth.

9. **χρωμένῳ**: here only in Thuc. for

Δελφοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτήν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια)· δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομέ-

inquiring of an oracle, and rare in Attic (Aeschin. III. 124), but freq. in Hdt.: i. 46; 47; 53; 85; iii. 57; iv. 150; 151; 157; vii. 141; 220. For this we have ἐπερωτᾶν in c. 25. 3; 118. 20. — 10. **τῇ μεγίστῃ**: for the art., *cf.* c. 23. 16.

13. **ἐπῆλθον**: the plur. with the name of the festival, perhaps as including a number of spectacles. So v. 75. 8, Καρνεῖα ἐτύγχανον ὄντα. But the sing. also occurs where merely a date is given, v. 49. 1; viii. 9. 3. Kühn. 365 b. — **τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ**: Schol., τοῦτο προσέθηκεν, ἐπειδὴ ἔστιν Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις. — 14. **ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι**: the personal end indicated by these words is expressed in Hdt. v. 71, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, in the verb. — 15. **ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν**: *had some special reference to him.* *Cf.* ii. 29. 10; v. 66. 18. — **Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι**: *cf.* Arist. *Rhet.* i. 2. 13; ἀναιρεῖν, Hdt. vi. 36; κρατεῖν καὶ ἑστέφθαι, Lucian. *de merc. cond.* 13; Olympia coronari, Hor. *Epist.* i. 1. 50,

16. **εἴρητο**: *had been designated, was meant.* — 17. **οὔτε . . . κατενόησε**: for the tense, *cf.* c. 66. 9; *he had not gone on and considered.* — **τε . . . οὐκ**: for *οὔτε* because the neg. belongs closely to the verb, "would not make plain." See on c. 5. 14. — 18. **Διάσια**: *cf.* Ar. *Nub.* 408, 864; celebrated in Anthesterion, Febr. A. Mommsen, *Heortol.* p. 19. — 19. **Μειλιχίου**: mentioned by Arist. *de Mund.* 7, among the general epithets of Zeus. Xen. *An.* vii. 8. 4; Pausan. i. 37. 4. — **πανδημεί**: as a general festival of the people, not in all demes. C. Wachsmuth, Rhein. Mus. 23, p. 178, note 31. — 20. **θύματα ἐπιχώρια**: Schol., τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῴων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα. Kr. regards πολλοὶ . . . ἐπιχώρια as a gloss. This is not unlikely; but the addition more probably begins at ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. See App.

22. **ἐπ' αὐτούς**: *sc.* τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κύλωνα. — 23. **ἐπιγιγνομένου**: *being spent over the siege.* *Cf.* iv. 26. 11, ὁ χρόνος

νου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ᾗ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν, ὡς ἑώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν

παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνόμενος. — **24. τρυχόμενοι**: in iv. 60. 13 and vii. 28. 23 we have the pf. partic. from stem *τρυχο-*; in iii. 93. 9 and vii. 48. 11 the fut. and aor. from *ἐκτρυχο-*: these are the only forms in Thuc. of this verb, which often occurs in Hom., the Attic poets (Soph. *Aj.* 604; *O. T.* 666; *Trach.* 110; Eur. *Hipp.* 147; *Hel.* 521; Ar. *Pax*, 989; *Ach.* 68), and in later writers. It is not used by Hdt., and is rare in Attic prose (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 4). — **οἱ πολλοί**: added for precision. *Cf.* c. 2. 24; 18. 2; 119. 5. — **25. τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι**: at their head was Megacles. Plut. *Sol.* 12. — **26. αὐτοκράτορσι**: *with unlimited powers* for this occasion; *i.e.* without consulting the people. — **ἄριστα**: a pred. adj. to an understood *εἶναι* with a general subj. supplied from what precedes, as is shown by vi. 26. 4. *Cf.* vi. 8. 15; viii. 67. 18. — **27. τότε δέ**: *i.e.* before the legislation of Solon; from which time the administrative power of the Archons gradually decreased, and was restricted chiefly to judicial functions. Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece*, I. p. 389. Wecklein thinks that in these words we have a correction of the statement of Hdt. v. 71, that *οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας*, were charged with the repression of Cylon. Perhaps these officers may have been subordinate to the Archons, and have acted as the agents of the Archon Eponymus in this affair. So Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alt.* I. p. 437. Grote, III. chap. 10, p. 53.

29. φλαύρως εἶχον: only here in Thuc.; *cf.* Hdt. iii. 129. Thuc. does not use the adj. *φλαῦρος*, but *φαῦλος*, though not *φαύλως*. — **32. καθίζουσιν ἱκέται**: see on c. 24. 19. — **τὸν βωμόν**: of Athena. — **33. ἀναστήσαντες**: the regular word for this action. *Cf.* c. 128. 3; 137. 1; iii. 28. 13; 75. 16, 24. — **οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . τὴν φυλακήν**: note the very unusual position of the part. gen. between art. and noun. See on c. 9. 4, and Kr. *Spr.* 47, 9, 11. The pass. subj. here from the dat. of person with act., the acc. of thing being retained. G. 197, N. 2; H. 819 b. But the acc. of thing is subj. in v. 31. 14. — **34. ὡς ἑώρων κτέ.**: *when they saw them near death*; the reason of *τὸ ἀναστῆσαι* being that the temple might not be

τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν [ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς] ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν 12
καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιάζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

127 Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον ἐλαύ- 1
νειν δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν

polluted with corpses. — 35. **ἐφ' ᾧ**: see on c. 103. 2. This clause belongs to *ἀναστήσαντες*. — **ἀπαγαγόντες**: *i.e.* to execution. *Cf.* c. 128. 4; iii. 68. 12; Lat. ducere. — 36. **ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν**: the sanctuary of the Eumenides, which lay between the Acropolis and the Areopagus. *Cf.* Ar. *Eq.* 1312, *καθῆσθαί μοι δοκῶ 'πὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν*. Probably Dobree is right in rejecting *ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς* as a gloss; they fled to, not sat on, the altars (Plut. *Sol.* 12, *τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες*). — 37. **ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ**: to be connected with *καθεζομένους*; some on the way to execution perceived what was to be their fate, and sought safety at the altars of the Eumenides. — **διεχρήσαντο**: *cf.* iii. 36. 15; vi. 61. 17; freq. in Hdt. — 38. **ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ**: probably was the standing designation of those concerned in this crime. *Cf.* Ar. *Eq.* 445. The adj. expresses extreme outrage. Dem. XVIII. 159; Aeschin. III. 131. — 39. **τὸ γένος**: chiefly the Alcmaeonidae, from Megacles who was their head.

40. **ἤλασε**: note the anaphora. *Cf.* c. 28. 8; 30. 17; 47. 7; ii. 85. 7. — **Κλεομένης κτέ.**: after the fall of the Pisistratidae, he supported Isagoras against Clisthenes, the head of the Alcmaeonidae, and compelled him for a short time to flee; B.C. 508, Ol. 68. 1. Hdt. v. 70; Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, I. p. 412 ff. So the *στάσις* here is that of the aristocratic faction. — 42. **τούς τε ζῶντας**: **τε** connects this with the preceding, and the following **καί** = *even*. But Kr. after P. brackets *ἐξέβαλον*. — 43. **κατῆλθον**: see on c. 113. 14. — **ὕστερον**: probably in the same year, B.C. 508, in consequence of the adherence of the *βουλή* to the constitution. Hdt. v. 72; Grote, IV. chap. 31, p. 92.

127. *This demand was specially directed against Pericles.*

1. **δή**: so **οὖν** (c. 26. 1; 51. 1) and **δ' οὖν** (c. 3. 19; 10. 33; 63. 4), after a considerable digression; here referring to c. 126. 5. — 2. **δῆθεν**: *as they pretended*; see on c. 92. 3. Here and in iv. 99. 7 placed before the words

μητέρα καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾷον σφίσι προ-
χωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἤλ- 2
πιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τοῦτο, ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέ-
ρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος. ὢν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' 3
ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἠναντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἴα ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλε-
μον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

128 Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονί- 1
ους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμό-
νιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ

referred to; unusual, but *cf.* Soph. *Tr.* 382; Eur. *Or.* 1119. — **πρῶτον**: enhancement of the irony; *first of all*, potissimum. *Cf.* Eur. *Med.* 377; *Phoen.* 886. — **εἰδότες δέ**: from the position this means, *but in fact because they knew.* — 3. **προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ**: *sc.* **τῷ ἄγει**; an unusual expression, explained by Plut. *Per.* 33, **τὸ ἄγος, ᾧ τὸ μητρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἔνοχον ἦν.** His mother was Agariste, the niece of the Alcmaeonid Clisthenes. Hdt. vi. 131. — 4. **προχωρεῖν**: inf. pres. in sense of fut. after **νομίζοντες**. See on c. 82. 18; 93. 13. But St. reads **ῥᾷον ἂν σφίσι**, and so B., v. H. Sh. thinks the pres. inf. is retained from the dir. disc., comparing iv. 24. 12; viii. 27. 14. — 5. **τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων**: *what they hoped from the Athenians. Cf.* iii. 4. 19; v. 37. 18; vii. 77. 17; viii. 48. 18; 51. 15; 56. 3.

5. **οὐ τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον**: see on c. 88. 2. — 6. **παθεῖν ἄν . . . οἴσειν**: the former of the limited act of banishment, the latter of enduring disfavour. *Cf.* c. 140. 28; ii. 64. 21; iii. 13. 28; 38. 12. Herbst, Hamb. Progr., 1867, p. 14. Thuc. uses **φέρειν** in this sense only with a *thing* for subj. (*cf.* c. 5. 10; 33. 11; ii. 37. 18; iv. 17. 4; vi. 16. 5); so here **τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα** must be supplied. — 7. **τὴν πόλιν**: = **τοὺς πολίτας**. — **τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφοράν**: the Lacedaemonians profess to regard his connexion with the Alcmaeonidae as a misfortune. — **τὸ μέρος**: see on c. 74. 23. — 8. **ἔσται**: emphatic by its position. See on c. 2. 5.

ὤν: always with emphasis when it precedes (*cf.* c. 21. 5; 124. 4; 130. 2; ii. 2. 11; vi. 15. 9); *since he was undoubtedly the most influential man at that time in Athens.* — 9. **ἄγων**: *cf.* ii. 65. 34. — 10. **οὐκ εἴα**: *cf.* c. 28. 9; 52. 13; 133. 13; vi. 72. 7.

128. *Counter-demands of the Athenians. The plans and last fortunes of Pausanias.* Chaps. 128–134.

1, 6. **ἀντεκέλευον . . . ἐκέλευον**: marked anaphora in reference to c. 127. 1. *Cf.* c. 30. 17. — 2. **τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος**: *i.e.* the guilt which reached Sparta from thence. In 4, however, the expression is local, unless, indeed, it is repeated there by mistake. For the particulars, see Paus. iv. 24. 5, and on the chronology, Kr. *Stud.* I.

Ταινάρου τῶν Εἱλώτων ἱκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν·
διὸ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν
γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου 2
ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε· ἐπειδὴ Παυ- 3
σανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ
Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ κρι-
θεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι
ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα
πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνεχείρησεν,
ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε 4
πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος
ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ πα- 5
ρουσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν (εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι
αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς οἳ

152 ff. — 4. **ἀπαγαγόντες**: see on c. 126. 35. — 5. **δι' ὃ δή**: referring to a well-known fact. — **σφίσιν αὐτοῖς**: the direct reflexive used for the indirect. Kr. *Spr.* 51, 2, 7. *Cf.* ii. 21. 19. — **σεισμόν**: *cf.* c. 101. 5. — 6. **τῆς Χαλκιοίκου**: *sc.* Ἀθηνᾶς, from her temple in the citadel, of which Paus., iii. 17. 2, says, *τόν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο* Ἀθηνᾶς *χαλκοῦν*. Curtius, *Pelop.* II. 227 ff.

8. **τὸ πρῶτον**: for the facts, *cf.* c. 95. § 3–6. — 11. **ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων**: = *οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν*, c. 131. 3. — 13. **τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον**: not as in c. 112. 3, but the war still waged by the Greeks against the Persians. The expression is used with reference to the character which Pausanias, the former general of the Hellenes, would wish to give to his movements. Ullrich, *Die hell. Kr.* p. 22–31. — 14. **πράσσειν**: loosely connected with **ἀφικνεῖται** to express purpose (*cf.* c. 50. 3; 57. 12), though a different form has intervened, as in c. 72. 6. The verb implies, as often, secret management; here of his negotiations with the Persian king. — 15. **τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς**: the control of all Greece.

εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κτέ.: this is an explanation of *ἐνεχείρησε*. — **ἀπὸ τοῦδε**: "from the following circumstance," belongs to both the following members. — 16. **κατέθετο**: see on c. 33. 6. The aors. *κατέθετο* and *ἐποιήσατο*, as in c. 66. 9, to be rendered with 'had.' To the phrase *εὐεργεσίαν κατέθετο* corresponds, as its pass., *κεῖται σοι εὐεργεσία* in c. 129. 13. *ἐς βασιλέα* belongs to *εὐεργεσίαν*, as in c. 41. 8.

17. **τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ**: see c. 94. 7. The dat. of time, as in c. 44. 3; ii. 20. 3; iii. 54. 13. Kr. *Spr.* 48, 2, 9. — 19. **προσήκοντες**: partic. as subst. with adnominal gen. GMT.

ἑάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τότε) τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ 6
Ἐρετριέως, ᾧπερ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ὕστερον ἀνευρέθη· "Παυσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ 7
σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἑλών, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καί σοι Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λό-
129 γους ποιησόμεθα." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Ξέρ- 1

108, 2, N. 3. — οἵ . . . τότε: by placing τότε thus in connexion with what precedes, instead of joining it with τούτους, as is usually done, the rel. clause gets its full force; "and these were at that time taken prisoners." Bekk., Kr., and B. bracket οἵ on the ground that Thuc. uses ἔχειν in this sense with only a single subj. But the mention of προσήκοντες (*connexions* in general) and ξυγγενεῖς (*blood-relations*) after Μῆδοι is like that of the leaders with their troops. — 21. τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων: ἄλλος used as when it implies not identity of class with what precedes, but only extension of number. *Cf.* ii. 14. 3; 77. 12; iii. 19. 8; iv. 100. 12. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 4, 11. — τῷ λόγῳ: *as he represented*. *Cf.* ii. 65. 40. — 22. αὐτόν: so Hdt. ii. 182, ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας.

ἔπρασσε δέ: *cf.* c. 88. 1. — 23. ᾧπερ: with the Vat. Ms. for ᾧ, is very suitable in reference to this important agent, *the very man to whom*. *Cf.* c. 89. 6. — 24. καὶ ἐπιστολήν: the order similar to c. 9. 6; 11. 10; v. 7. 20; Dem. III. 6. — 26. ἀνευρέθη: here only in Thuc.; freq. in Hdt., as i. 67; 137; iv. 44; vii. 8. γ 3; ix. 12.

τούσδε τε: correlative to καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι. — 27. ἀποπέμπει: the easy conjecture of ἀποπέμπω to correspond with ποιοῦμαι is refuted by a similar change of person in Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 31. *Cf.* also c. 129. § 3, and the treaty in iv. 118. — δορί: old and poetic form for δόρατι; so in iv. 98. 27. — 28. γνώμην ποιοῦμαι: *form the design*. *Cf.* ii. 2. 24; vii. 72. 8. — τὴν σήν: for the order, see on c. i. 6. — 31. ἀρέσκει: here only in Thuc. with acc., but pass. in c. 129. 14 (but freq. in Plat., as *Theaet.* 172 d; 202 c; so Soph. *Aj.* 584); with dat., c. 38. 8; iv. 113. 3; 121. 3; v. 37. 13; vi. 24. 16; vii. 49. 18; viii. 43. 11; 48. 20. — 32. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν: an oriental designation of the coast of Asia Minor inhabited by the Greeks.

ξης δὲ ἤσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τήν τε Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε, καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἤν τι αὐτῷ Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα 2
ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἴρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε· "Ὧδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Παυ- 3
σανίᾳ· καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κεῖταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐς ἀεὶ ἀνάγραπτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καί σε μήτε νὺξ μήθ' ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖ-

129. 2. **Ἀρτάβαζον**: the well-known general of Xerxes. *Cf.* Hdt. vii. 66; viii. 126 ff. — 4. **Δασκυλίτιν**: this satrapy, so called from Dascylium in Bithynia (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 15), comprehended the northern part of Asia Minor; that of Sardis, the southern. — **ἀπαλλάξαντα**: *relieving, superseding. Cf.* c. 90. 17. — 5. **καὶ ... ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ**: *and he charged him with a letter in reply* (addressed) *to Pausanias at Byzantium.* As the following inf. depends on the sense of **κελεύειν**, the const. would have been more regular if **ἀντεπετίθει** had been expressed as partic. For a similar irregularity, see on c. 16. 2. **παρά** is used of the official address of Pausanias. — 7. **τὴν σφραγῖδα**: *i.e.* the impression of the royal seal on the letter. *Cf.* Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 39. — 8. **ἑαυτοῦ**: *i.e.* **βασιλέως**: here an indirect reflexive (*cf.* c. 128. 5), **οὗ** being found only in Plato. Kr. *Spr.* 51, 2, 4 and 5.

11. **ὧδε λέγει κτέ.**: the same direct beginning, without a **χαίρειν** in the letter of Amasis to Polycrates, Hdt. iii. 40. See Bernays, *Die Heraclit. Briefe*, p. 118. — 12. **τῶν ἀνδρῶν**: *in regard to these men*, depending loosely on **εὐεργεσία**. — 13. **κεῖταί σοι εὐεργεσία**: pf. pass. of (**κατα**)**τίθεσθαι**, c. 128. 16, *the service is laid up, preserved;* the execution of this is expressed in **ἀνάγραπτος** (accent as **ἀνάδοτος**, iii. 52. 9, and both in meaning of past partic.; Kühn. 147 c, B). *Cf.* Hdt. viii. 85, **Φύλακος εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη**. Such benefactors **ὁροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί**. — 14. **ἐς ἀεί**: *cf.* **ἐς ἔπειτα**, c. 130. 10; **ἐς αὖθις**, iv. 63. 8. — **τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ**: see on c. 37. 5. — 15. **μήτε νὺξ κτέ.**: in oriental style. *Cf.* Hdt. v. 23. — **ἐπισχέτω**: trans. *hinder. Cf.* iv. 5. 5. Prob. aor. Kühn. 397, 3. The pres indic. **ἐπίσχει** in iii. 45. 15. — **ἀνεῖναι**: *become slack in*: usually with acc. of subst. *Cf.* iv. 27. 8, **φυλακήν**. Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1. 33, **μεθιᾶσι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν**.—

ναι πράσσειν τι ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνεῖ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνῃ κεκωλύσθω μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ
130 ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἕξει ἀμφοτέροις." ταῦτα λα- 1
βὼν ὁ Παυσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο
5 ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξήει καὶ διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προυδήλου ἃ τῇ

16. **ὑπισχνεῖ**: this form of the second sing. mid. is rightly preferred by St. to **-νῇ** of Mss. So also in vi. 14. 1, **ἡγεῖ** should be written; the only instances in Thuc. of this person. — 17. **κεκωλύσθω**: *sc.* **τοῦτο, ὃ πράσσειν μέλλεις**, unless the verb is to be taken impers., *let there be no impediment*. *Cf.* iv. 14. 14, and see on c. 46. 1. — 19. **ἔπεμψα**: the past from the point of view of the reader. *Cf.* c. 23. 21. GMT. 17, 2, N. 5; H. 838; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 10, 1.

130. 2. **τὰ γράμματα**: = **τὴν ἐπιστολήν**, which is used with it in vii. 8. 12, 15. *Cf.* also c. 133. 1; 137. 20. — 3. **ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων**: **ὑπό** with **ἀξίωμα** in pass. sense. *Cf.* vi. 15. 10; and so with **δόξασμα** in c. 141. 34; with **ἀρχή**, ii. 65. 40; with **φυγή** in viii. 64. 14. The partic. **ὤν** (see on c. 127. 8) here and vi. 15. 9, of the impf., *being held as he was before in high consideration*, heightens the following climax. — **Πλαταιᾶσιν**: locative. G. 61, N. 2; H. 220. — 4. **ἦρτο**: **αἴρεσθαι**, rare in Attic in metaphorical sense, = **ἐπαίρεσθαι** (c. 120. 19; iv. 18. 17), is freq. later. *Cf.* Plut. *Fab.* 8; *Aemil.* 12; also the epigram in vi. 59. 16. There is no proper opposition here; for he grew not in the estimation of others, but in his own self-conceit: and **οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο** refers to the moral feebleness of vanity. — 5. **ἐν**: *within the limits of*. — **τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ**: the style established and traditional among the Greeks. *Cf.* **τὰ καθεστῶτα νόμιμα**, c. 132. 9; iii. 9. 1; 56. 5. — **σκευάς Μηδικάς**: the rare pl. points to the various articles of Eastern costume (see on c. 2. 12), and the verb **ἐνδύεσθαι** probably to the **ἀναξυρίδες** (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 13) as well as to the **κάνδυς**. — 7. **ἐδορυφόρουν**: with acc. *Cf.* Hdt. ii. 168; iii. 127; Plat. *Rep.* 575 b. — 8. **τράπεζάν τε**: the *third* member, not related to the following *καί*. — **παρετίθετο**: *had placed before him*, the mid. with causative meaning. G. 199, N. 2; H. 815; Kühn. 374, 7. — **κατέχειν**: *cf.* ii. 65. 33; iii. 62. 13; iv. 130. 27. — **τὴν διάνοιαν**: *his real purpose*. *Cf.* c. 132. 20; ii. 20. 19; iv. 52. 10. — 9. **βραχέσι**: *trifling*.

γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐς ἔπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρῆτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι· διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη. 131 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρῳάδας ἱδρυθεὶς πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν

Cf. c. 14. 11; 117. 11. Here these are innovations in his mode of life. — **τῇ γνώμῃ**: belongs to **ἔμελλε**, *what in his heart he purposed.* — 10. **μειζόνως**: so iv. 19. 16; vi. 27. 9. *On a larger scale* than was permitted by ordinary Hellenic relations. This is the only form of this adv., *μεῖζον* being probably always adj. *Cf.* other similar advs., *μειόνως*, Soph.; *βελτιόνως, καλλιόνως, ᾧλασσόνως*, Plat.; *κρεισσόνως*, Antiph.; *ἐχθιόνως*, Xen. See Kühn. 158, note 1. — **ἐς ἔπειτα**: see on c. 123. 2; usually *ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα*, ii. 64. 27; iv. 18. 22; 64. 21.

11. **τε**: inferential, *and so.* — **ὀργῇ**: in the old, chiefly poetic, sense of *temper.* *Cf.* c. 140. 3; iii. 82. 19; viii. 83. 15. — **χαλεπῇ**: *harsh, imperious.* — 12. **δύνασθαι**: *i.e.* without disagreeable consequences. Kr. proposes to omit *δύνασθαι* and bring *προσιέναι* from *προσίημι*, 'to admit to his presence.' But would not this rather be *προσίεσθαι*? — 13. **ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη**: see c. 95. § 4, *τοὺς ξυμμάχους μετατάξασθαι.*

131. 1. **αἰσθόμενοι**: see on c. 95. 21. — **τό τε πρῶτον**: *not only the first time*; c. 95. 9. — 2. **ἀνεκάλεσαν**: *had they recalled him*; though in parataxis, really a prot. to what follows. *Cf.* c. 126. 17; 128. 16. P. reads *ἀνεκαλέσαντο* with some Mss., which is less common; not used elsewhere by Thuc. in this sense. We have *μετατέμπεσθαι* in c. 95. 9; 128. 8. — **τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι**: the art., because known from c. 128. 11. — 4. **βίᾳ . . . ἐκπολιορκηθείς**: *forcibly dislodged.* He was forced to retire from Byzantium, where he had established himself, c. 128. 17. We must not think of a regular siege. — 6. **Κολωνάς**: see Strab. xiii. 1. 19; Pausan. x. 14. 1: with the fem. noun *τὰς Τρῳάδας* used as adj. (*cf.* **Ἰάς**, iv. 61. 10; **Ἑλλάς**, vi. 62. 9, and see Kühn. 405, 1), to distinguish it from places in Phocis and Thessaly. — **ἱδρυθείς**: often used of troops taking up a position (*cf.* iii. 72. 8; iv. 42. 9; 44. 11; 131. 2), and then mostly with *ἐπί* with the gen. For *ἐς*, see on c. 87. 7. — **πράσσων**: and *ποιούμενος* in pers. const. with the pass. *ἐσηγγέλλετο.* *Cf.* iii. 16. 12; and see Kühn. 482, 4; 484, 17; Kr. *Spr.* 56, 7, 3. — 7. **πρός**: *with*, of negotiations. *Cf.* ii. 5. 32; iii. 28. 11; iv. 68. 14. As applied to a number of people, *ἐς*

μονὴν ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὕποπτος εἶναι καὶ 2 πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις
132 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν. καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ 1 Σπαρτιᾶται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα (Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὢν ἐπετρόπευεν), ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε 2

may also be used. *Cf.* c. 132. 21. — **ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ**: *cf.* c. 34. 4; 126. 14. — 8. **οὕτω δή**: see on c. 49. 30. — **ἐπέσχον**: intr., *delay*. *Cf.* c. 90. 20; iv. 78. 29. See on c. 129. 15. — 9. **σκυτάλην**: Schol., *ξύλον στρογγύλον ἐξεσμένον ἐπίμηκες*, which by means of a strap wound around it and then written on, served the Spartans as a means of secret communication. Plut. *Lys.* 19; Nep. *Paus.* 3. 4; A. Gell. xvii. 9. 6. Pausanias was still in possession of the staff, probably as guardian of the young king Plistarchus. — **εἶπον**: = first **ἐκέλευον** and then **ἀπήγγειλαν**. *Cf.* **προεῖπον**, c. 26. 20. — **μὴ λείπεσθαι**, *not to remain behind*. More usual **ἀπολείπεσθαι**. — 10. **εἰ δὲ μή**: see on c. 28. 10.

12. **διαλύσειν**: *cf.* iii. 83. 5; iv. 118. 36. **διαλύεσθαι** with pl. subject and reciprocal operation, c. 140. 17; 145. 6; v. 80. 2. — 13. **ἐσπίπτει**: pass. to **ἐσβάλλειν**, after analogy of **ἐκπίπτειν**, c. 2. 23; ii. 27. 7; iii. 68. 17. Cobet, Mnem. 12, p. 129 ff. — 14. **τὸν βασιλέα**: of course, therefore, the guardian of the king. — 15. **δρᾶσαι**: see on c. 5. 12. **ποιεῖν** is more common with a double acc. — **ἔπειτα**: the next step after **τὸ πρῶτον**; **ὕστερον**, *after some while*. — **διαπραξάμενος**: the object to be supplied out of the result itself (**ἐξῆλθε**). *Cf.* iii. 82. 66; v. 89. 7. Schol., **διακρουσάμενος τὴν κατηγορίαν**. Grote, V. chap. 44, p. 125, with the Schol., thinks by bribery. — 16. **ἐξῆλθε καὶ καθίστησιν**: on the change of tense, see Kühn. 386, 6. — **τοῖς βουλομένοις**: pl.; so in iv. 118. 9; usually sing. *Cf.* c. 26. 3, 20; ii. 34. 10; iii. 66. 2; iv. 26. 15. — 17. **περὶ αὐτόν**: as in c. 135. 6, **τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων**.

132. 3. **ὅτῳ ἂν κτέ.**: **ἄν** belongs to **ἐτιμωροῦντο** (*would have undertaken to punish*), **βεβαίως** to **πιστεύσαντες**. — 4. **τοῦ βασιλείου**: on the order, see on c. 1. 6. — 6. **ἀνεψιὸς ὤν**: see on c. 94. 1. —

τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν εἴ τί που ἐξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε·

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς 3

ἐπετρόπευεν: has the acc. in Attic writers (Ar. *Eq.* 212; Plat. *Rep.* 519 b), the gen. in Hdt. i. 65. — **ὑποψίας**: *grounds for suspicion*, opp. to *φανερὸν σημεῖον*. For pl. of abstracts, see Kühn. 348, 3 c; Kr. *Spr.* 44, 3, 4. — 7. **παρανομίᾳ**: violation rather of custom than of law. So vi. 15. 16; 28. 13, of Alcibiades. — **ζηλώσει**: united to *παρανομίᾳ* by the single art. (see on c. 120. 10) as defining it; though in strictness *τε after τῇ* demands a second art. — **ἴσος εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι**: *to acquiesce in things as they were*, the established arrangements. *Cf.* vi. 16. 18; viii. 89. 24. *παροῦσι* is neut., as in c. 123. 3. — 8. **τά τε ἄλλα**: *τε* stands here as copulative conj. and also as correl. to the following *καί*. But Ullrich, *Beitr.*, 1862, p. 34, inserts *καί* before *τά*. This, Stahl adopts, and B. approves. P. regards *τε* as only the copula. — **αὐτοῦ**: *in him*. *Cf.* c. 68. 7, *τῶν λεγόντων*. — **ἀνεσκόπουν**: of inquiry into the past. *Cf.* vii. 42. 24. — 9. **ἐξεδεδιήτητο**: in pf. and plpf. the double aug. probably without exception (*cf.* vii. 77. 10; Dem. xxi. 85), but not so consistently in aor.; *διήτησα* and *ἐδιήτησα*, *διητήθην* (vii. 87. 15) and *ἐδιητήθην*. — **τῶν νομίμων**: gen. depending on *ἐξεδεδιήτητο*, imitated by Dion. H. *A. R.* v. 74, *μηδὲν ἐκδιαιτώμενος τῶν πατρίων*. — 10. **τὸν τρίποδα**: *cf.* Hdt. ix. 81, *ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἑστεώς*. The gold tripod was carried off by the Phocians in the sacred war (Pausan. x. 13. 5), but the bronze pillar of three intertwined snakes was removed by Constantine to Byzantium, and placed in the hippodrome, the modern Atmeidan. Gibbon, chap. 17, note 48. This remarkable monument, completely brought to light in 1856, contains the names of all the Greek states which took part in the Persian war. The *ἐλεγεῖον* (acc. to Pausan. iii. 8. 1, composed by Simonides) was probably on the tripod itself, while the Lacedaemonians *ἐπέγραψαν* (16) on the pillar. O. Frick, N. Jahrbb. Spplbd. 3, Heft 4, 1859; Hicks, *Inscr.* p. 11. — 11. **ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων**: short for *ἐκ τῶν Μηδικῶν λαφύρων*. — **ἀκροθίνιον**: pl. in Hdt. i. 86; 90; viii. 121; 122; sing. in Eur. *Phoen.* 282; Plut. *Mar.* 23; *the choice part of the booty*. — **ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι**: *he presumed* (an exaggeration of the meaning of c. 22. 9) *to have inscribed*; mid. as in c. 130. 8; 134. 23. — 12. **ἰδίᾳ**: without authority of the state, opp. to *δημοσίᾳ*, as c. 128. 11; ii. 65. 6; iv. 121. 6.

15. **ἐξεκόλαψαν**: like the simple *κολάπτειν* applied to erasure from

τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τότ' ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἵλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσίν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάσωνται. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες ἠξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλεῦσαί τι ἀνήκεστον, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, δεί-

metal or from stone. — 17. **ξυγκαθελοῦσαι**: Hdt. viii. 82, of the same fact says, *ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι*. — 18. **τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου**: in opp. to his action; though the inscription could be erased, yet he was not himself free from guilt. The subj. of *ἐδόκει* is the before-mentioned action, *τὸ ἐπιγράψασθαι ἰδίᾳ κτέ.*, to which *ἀδίκημα εἶναι* is pred. We must therefore read *καὶ τότ'* for *καὶ τοῦτ'*. See App. — 19. **ἐν τούτῳ**: Schol., *ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ*. — 20. **παρόμοιον**: see on c. 80. 8. — **πραχθῆναι**: with allusion to his secret intrigues. — **διανοίᾳ**: as in c. 130. 8.

21. **ἐς ... πράσσειν**: see on c. 65. 12; 131. 7. — 22. **καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως**: in this combination of particles (*cf.* ii. 36. 2; iv. 24. 5; vi. 71. 12; vii. 56. 10; viii. 67. 19) *καί* is not the copula, but *even*, here emphasizing the fact as opp. to conjecture, and *δέ*, *now*, epexegetic. — 23. **τὸ πᾶν**: *his whole plan*. *Cf.* c. 72. 6; 126. 26; v. 30. 6.

24. **οὐδὲ ... πιστεύσαντες**: explains *οὐδ' ὡς*, since so far the source of their knowledge has not been named. — 25. **νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν**: = *νεωτερίζειν*, c. 58. 3. *Cf.* ii. 6. 7; iv. 51. 3. — 26. **ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν**: *sc.* *χρῆσθαι*. — **μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι**: *not to be over-hasty*; with inf. as in c. 118. 11. — 27. **ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου**: of the Dorian stock. — 28. **τι ἀνήκεστον**: a euphemism for capital punishment. *Cf.* iii. 39. 40; iv. 20. 2. — **πρίν γε δή**: more forcible than *πρὶν δή*, c. 118. 13, with which accords the pres. *γίγνεται*. GMT. 67, 1; H. 924 a. — 29. **βασιλεῖ**: dat. with *ἐπιστολάς*. *Cf.* c. 5. 6, *τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς*. — **ἐπιστολάς**: of a single letter. *Cf.* viii. 39. 15. — 30. **Ἀργίλιος**: from Argilos in Chalcidice. — 31. **πιστότατος**: *i.e.*

σας κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι οὐδείς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγῖδα, ἵνα, ἢν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι τοιοῦτο προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμέ-
133 νον κτείνειν. τότε δὴ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμ- 1
ματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν [τε]

up to this time; fear for his own safety first changed him. — **ἐκείνῳ**: after *αὐτοῦ* on account of the change of case, to avoid the repetition of the same word. *Cf.* c. 138. 29; iv. 29. 17; v. 30. 22; vi. 61. 21; Plat. *Prot.* 310 d; *Phaed.* 60 d; 111 b. — **μηνυτὴς γίγνεται**: *assumes the part of an informer*, a stronger *μηνύει*. See on c. 35. 12. After this statement of the essential fact, the narrative returns in *δείσας . . . ἀφίκετο* to the motive of it; and since this suggested the mention of the immediate results, we have with a second finite verb (*λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς*) a report of what was really antecedent in time. *Cf.* a similar violation of the order of time in c. 9. § 2. — 32. **κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα**: *because he had observed with misgiving.* — 34. **τι μεταγράψαι**: *to change something in the letter.* But in iv. 50. 7 the mid. means 'to translate.' — 35. **ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι κτέ.**: *in which, as he had conjectured that some such special instruction was enjoined, he actually found himself set down for death.* **καὶ** is to be referred rather to the whole following clause than to *αὐτόν* alone, though this is accentuated by its position and by the reference to earlier messengers. — 36. **ἐγγεγραμμένον**: masc. in agreement with *αὐτόν*, for *κτείνειν* = interficiendum. *Cf.* *παρέχω ἐμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν*, praebeo me interrogandum. Kühn. 473, 7; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 14, 20.

133. 1. **τότε δή**: so with Vat. better than *δέ*, pointing back to c. 132. 28, *πρίν γε δὴ . . . γίγνεται*. — 2. **μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν**: *cf.* 132. 24, *οὐδὲ . . . ἐπίστευσαν*. — 3. **Παυσανίου**: governed by *αὐτήκοοι*, like *ἀκούειν*. Kühn. 417, note 6; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 26, 1. — **ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς**: *by agreement*, ex compositio. *Cf.* iv. 130. 20, *ἀπὸ προειρημένου τινός*. — 4. **ἱκέτου οἰχομένου**: to be taken in close connexion, as c. 24. 19, *ἱκέται καθεζόμενοι*. — 5. **σκηνησαμένου**: from *σκηνεῖσθαι* (or *σκηνᾶσθαι*), elsewhere probably intr. (*cf.* ii. 52. 9; Plat. *Rep.* 621 a; *Legg.* 866 d; the word does not occur in Hdt., and only in active forms in Xen., *An.* iv. 5. 33; vii. 3. 15; *Cyr.* iv. 2. 11; *Hell.* iv. 6. 7, but always intr.), must here be taken trans., *having prepared for temporary occupation.* But the conjecture of Madvig (*Adv.* I. 309), *σκευασαμένοι*, which Sh. also proposed, would be simpler and easier. — **διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην**: a hut divided in two

ἐφόρων ἐντός τινας ἔκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ᾔσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τἆλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο, προτιμηθείη δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκείνου αὐτὰ ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐῶντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύειν. 134. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι, βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἑνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσ-

by an intervening partition. — **τῶν [τε] ἐφόρων**: the τε though found in all Mss. should be rejected with St. and P.; so Kr. and v. H. The two participial clauses, *βουληθέντες κτἑ.* and *Παυσανίου . . . ἐλθόντος κτἑ.* form a proper antecedent to *ᾔσθοντο κτἑ.*, which τε only obscures. — 6. **ἐντός**: proleptically used with *ἐς ἣν . . . ἔκρυψε*, the position which is the result of the action being anticipated. *Cf.* iv. 129. 16, *ἐξεστρατοπεδευμένοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως*, where, however, Cl. in his text omits *ἐξ-*. — 8. **πάντα**: as elucidated in the following participial clauses. — **σαφῶς**: placed at the end for emphasis, no more doubt remaining. *Cf.* c. 77. 19. — **αἰτιωμένου**: with acc. *Cf.* c. 123. 2; v. 30. 5. — 11. **παραβάλοιτο**: like the Homeric *παρατίθεσθαι* (*β* 237; *γ* 74), to place at hazard — lit., on the table where dice are thrown —; in mid., at one's own cost or by one's own fault; so to bring into danger, *compromise*. *Cf.* ii. 44. 16; iii. 14. 5; 65. 12. — **προτιμηθείη**: by its position strongly contrasts service with payment, with bitter irony; *his preferment was to die just like the ruck of his servants*. — 12. **αὐτὰ ταῦτα**: *the very fact*. Bekk., seeing no reason for this emphasis, conjectured *αὖ ταὐτά τε*; easier would be *αὐτῷ ταῦτα*, or with Tilmanns, *αὐτοῦ ταῦτα*. — 13. **οὐκ ἐῶντος**: *urging him not*. *Cf.* c. 127. 10; vi. 72. 7. — 14. **διδόντος**: *offering, promising*. *Cf.* c. 33. 25; iv. 86. 8. — **τῆς ἀναστάσεως**: (*cf.* c. 126. 33) depends on *πίστιν*, "an assurance of safety in his quitting," and explained by *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, which is so placed for emphasis. It was all-important to Pausanias to put an end to this strange *ἱκετεία*. — 15. **τὰ πρασσόμενα**: *i.e.* *πρὸς βασιλέα* (c. 131. 6), not *ἐς τοὺς Εἵλωτας* (c. 132. 21).

134. 2. **βεβαίως**: *i.e.* with sure grounds of proof, which were wanting in c. 132. 1. — 3. **ἐποιοῦντο**: impf., as in c. 26. 23; 48. 2; 107. 11;

ιόντος ὡς εἶδε, γνῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρησαμένου καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος. καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθών, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη, ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ 2 τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφεῖλον καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπῳκοδόμησαν, προσκαθεζόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἰκή- 3 ματι, αἰσθόμενοί τε ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα καὶ ἐξαχθείς ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλ- 4 λησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλ-

113. 7; *they made preparations for.* — 5. **ὡς εἶδε**: for this position of the conj., see on c. 77. 4. — **ἐφ' ᾧ**: of purpose, as c. 3. 9; 34. 4; 126. 14; 131. 8; iii. 63. 3; vi. 28. 10. — 6. **ἀφανεῖ**: *i.e. hardly perceptible* to any one else. — **δηλώσαντος**: *cf.* c. 82. 4; 90. 10; *giving him to understand their purpose.* — 7. **τῆς Χαλκιοίκου**: see on c. 128. 6. — **προκαταφυγεῖν**: *outran his pursuers and escaped.* Lycurg. *Leocr.* 128, *φθάσαι καταφυγόντα.* — 8. **οἴκημα**: this must have been, as the subsequent treatment of it shows, a building subordinate to the temple, not a part of the temple itself. *Cf.* ii. 4. 24; iv. 47. 9. — 9. **ὑπαίθριος**: adv. meaning expressed by local, as often by temporal adj. See on c. 12. 3; 61. 18.

11. **τὸν ὄροφον**: in iv. 48. 10, Thuc. uses *τὴν ὀροφήν.* — 12. **ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες**: *cf.* ii. 83. 8; vi. 100. 10; viii. 108. 22; he might leave the chamber whether, as Schol. says, *ἐξῇ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πολλάκις*, or for other purposes. — **ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω**: *i.e.* cutting him off after he had got within. But Cobet brackets these words, thinking that *εἴσω* is used for *ἔνδον*, which "nunquam apud bonos scriptores legitur." — 13. **ἀπῳκοδόμησαν**: *cf.* vii. 73. 8. — **προσκαθεζόμενοί τε**: (the *third* particular) *cf.* c. 11. 14; 26. 19; 61. 8; 126. 23. — **ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ**: they starved him out; different from c. 94. 6; 131. 5.

14. **ἀποψύχειν**: *to expire;* rare in Attic prose. Hom. *ω* 348; Soph. *Aj.* 1031 with *βίον.* — **ὥσπερ εἶχεν**: *just as he was;* an expression indicating immediate action, generally with the implication that something more might have been expected. *Cf.* ii. 4. 28; iii. 30. 3; vi. 57. 10; viii. 42. 1; sometimes, as viii. 41. 16, strengthened by *εὐθύς.* — 15. **αἰσθόμενοι**: see on c. 95. 21. The particles *τε — καί* distinguish markedly the last particulars; he was brought out still living, and died immediately after. See Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 306 ff. — **ἔτι ἔμπνουν**: *cf.* v. 10. 52.

17. **Καιάδαν**: a cleft in the mountains not far from the city, probably

λειν· ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι), καὶ ὡς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὂν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας δύο ὡς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου ἀνέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, 1 ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό.

Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι 2 πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπηιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ηὗρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἠξίουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ 3 πεισθέντες * (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαιταν

near the modern Mistra, into which, in early times prisoners, in later, the corpses of criminals, were thrown. Strab. viii. 5. 7; Paus. iv. 18. 3; Curtius, *Pelop.* II. 252. — **οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους**: *ἐμβάλλουσιν* is to be supplied. Some inferior Mss. read *εἰώθεσαν*, but this is a gloss, as the three words probably are. — 18. **πλησίον που**: *sc. τοῦ Καιάδα.* — 19. **ἔχρησε**: see on c. 123. 8. — 20. **οὗπερ**: = *ἐκεῖσε οὗπερ.* — 21. **προτεμενίσματι**: Schol., *ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προαστείῳ.* But the latter statement can hardly be correct, since the temple was in the middle of the town (Curtius, *Pelop.* II. p. 227) and Paus. iii. 14. 1 saw the tomb of Pausanias *τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπαντικρύ.* The *προτεμένισμα* was "a sort of lodge or entrance to the sacred ground." Arn. — **ὅ**: refers to the previous statement, that he was buried in the space before the temple. — **γραφῇ**: rare in this sense; in ii. 43. 19, *στηλῶν ἐπιγραφή*; vi. 59. 12, *ἐπίγραμμα.* — **ὡς . . . τὸ πεπραγμένον**: contains the judgment of the god; for the acc. abs. (not here impers.) with *ὡς*, *cf.* iv. 5. 3; vi. 24. 10; vii. 31. 19; viii. 66. 20. GMT. 110, N. 1; H. 974; Kühn. 488 d. — 23. **ποιησάμενοι**: *having caused to be made.* See on c. 130. 8. — **ἀνδριάντας δύο**: *i.e.* *δύο εἰκόνας Παυσανίου*, as Pausanias, iii. 17. 7, saw them by the altar of Athena Chalcioecus.

135. *The last fortunes of Themistocles.* Chaps. 135–138.

1. **οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κτέ.**: continued from c. 128. 1. **ἀντεπέταξαν** answers to *ἀντεκέλευον* there. — 5. **ξυνεπηιῶντο**: and *ἠξίουν*, 7, impf., as in c. 134. 3. But *ηὗρισκον* of the gradual development of proof. *Cf.* Plut. *Them.* 23, *ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα.* — 7. **τοῖς αὐτοῖς**: *i.e.* *θανάτῳ.* *τε* is inferential.

8. **ἔτυχε γὰρ κτέ.**: see on c. 31. 7. This gives the reason of the following *πέμπουσι.* — **ἔχων δίαιταν**: = *διαιτώμε-*

μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόν-
νησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἑτοίμων ὄντων
ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν.
136 * ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοπον- 1
νήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. δεδιέναι δὲ φα-
σκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ
Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
ἤπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσ- 2
τεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ᾗ χωροίη, ἀναγκάζεται κατά τι
ἄπορον παρὰ Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ
οὐ φίλον καταλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ 3
δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς
τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν. καὶ 4

νος, living, abiding. Cf. ii. 14. 7; 52. 5. — 11. **εἴρητο**: *cf.* c. 129. 10; iii. 52. 6; v. 58. 20; vi. 30. 4. — **ἄγειν**: = *λαβόντας ἄγειν*, to which *ὅπου κτέ.* is naturally joined. *Cf.* iv. 39. 12.

136. 2. **αὐτῶν**: *sc.* *τῶν Κερκυραίων. Cf.* c. 24. 9; 34. 5. — **εὐεργέτης**: either because he took their part in a strife with Corinth (Plut. *Them.* 24), or (Schol.) excused their absence in the Persian war (Hdt. vii. 168). It is probable (Hermes, 14, 152) that a right of asylum had been decreed to him as *εὐεργέτης*. — 3. **ἔχειν αὐτόν**: *to keep him with them*; the object of fear in inf. *Cf.* iv. 110. 13; v. 105. 12. GMT. 46, N. 8. — **ὥστε ... ἀπέχθεσθαι**: the result of *ἔχειν*; *by which they would become odious*. *ἀπέχθεσθαι* here and *ἀπήχθεσθε*, ii. 63. 6, are plainly aor. in sense; but by the evidence of Mss. the inf. (like *καθέζεσθαι*) seems to have kept the accent of the pres. Buttmann, *Gram.* II.[2] p. 141 (1), 187; Kühn. I. p. 827.

5. **τῶν προστεταγμένων**: *those appointed thereto. Cf.* v. 75. 23; vi. 31. 31; vii. 70. 21; viii. 8. 13. — 6. **ᾗ χωροίη**: depends on *κατὰ πύστιν*, opt. of repetition: they were to pursue him in whatever direction their inquiries told them he had gone. — **κατά τι ἄπορον**: what this difficulty was is left unmentioned; a similar reticence in c. 72. 3. The conjecture *τὸ ἄπορον* is unnecessary. — 8. **καταλῦσαι**: aor., 'to take up one's quarters' *παρά τινα*: *καταλύειν*, 'to dwell as a guest' *παρά τινι. Cf.* Plat. *Prot.* 311 a; Dem. XVIII. 82. — 10. **τὸν παῖδα σφῶν**: she would say, *τὸν παῖδα ἡμῶν. Cf.* v. 71. 14, *δείσας Ἄγις μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῇ τὸ εὐώνυμον*. — **καθέζεσθαι**: so we must write even against the Mss. for *καθίζεσθαι*. For Thuc., with Attic writers generally, uses only active forms of *καθίζω*. *Cf.* c. 126. 32; iii. 28. 13; 75. 15, 21. On the other hand, the mid. forms *καθεζόμην, καθεζόμενος, καθέζωμαι* (c. 24. 20; vi. 49. 16; vii. 67. 13; 77. 22), and the inf. (see on 3), are always true aors. in sense.

ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν, αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γεν-
15 ναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σῴζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκεῖνον δ' ἂν εἰ ἐκδοίη αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται), σωτηρίας ἂν
137 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερῆσαι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν 1
μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος (ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο) καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ
5 εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν πεζῇ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. * ἐν ᾗ ὁλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγο- 2

11. **ὅς ἐστι**: qui sit; the rule is to say *οἶδά σε ὃς εἶ*, and *οὐκ οἶδά σε ὅστις εἶ*, quis sis. But *ὅστις* is not seldom found after an affirmative (*cf.* c. 137. 11; Kühn. 562, 4), and *ὅς* sometimes after a negative. Kr. *Dial.* 61, 6, 1. — 12. **οὐκ ἀξιοῖ**: like *οὐ φάναι, οὐκ ἐᾶν*, with an appeal to the sense of honour: = *οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναί φησι*. *Cf.* c. 133. 13, and see on c. 102. 17. — **εἴ τι ἄρα**: *ἄρα* implies the naturalness of the inference that former injury justifies revenge. See on c. 121. 22. — 13. **δεομένῳ**: the circumstances are not known. The Schol. merely conjectures *περὶ ξυμμαχίας δεήσεως*. — **καὶ γὰρ ἄν . . . τιμωρεῖσθαι**: gives the reason of what precedes, particularly of *οὐκ ἀξιοῖ*. All the better Mss. read *ἀσθενεστέρου*; "he could in his present state be harmed by a far weaker man than Admetus; but a generous man will avenge himself only on persons who are on a par with him." See App. — 15. **τοὺς ὁμοίους**: wrongly suspected by Cobet, is the object, and *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου* denotes the position of the subject. See on c. 77. 8. — 16. **χρείας τινός**: *in the matter of some petition*. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 21, 1; Kühn. 419 g. A similar gen. with *ἐναντιοῦσθαι*, Xen. *An.* vii. 6. 5. — **ἐς τὸ σῶμα σῴζεσθαι**: the art. belongs to the inf. *σῶμα* = *life*, as c. 85. 4, and requires no expressed art. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 2, 13. — 18. **εἰπών**: inserted as *δείξας*, c. 87. 8. — **ἐφ' ᾧ**: see on c. 134. 5. — **ἄν**: repeated after the parenthesis. *Cf.* c. 36. 15; 76. 19.

137. 1. **ἀνίστησι**: see on c. 126. 33. — 2. **υἱέος**: see on c. 13. 26. — **ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων**: *cf.* c. 74. 25; 117. 17. *καί* emphasizes the identity of the present with the earlier situation. — 3. **μέγιστον**: *surest, most constraining*. *Cf.* c. 126. 2. — **οὐ πολλῷ**: by Thuc. often placed after *ὕστερον*. *Cf.* c. 18. 21; ii. 27. 6; 30. 10; viii. 95. 34. — 6. **ἐπὶ**

μένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ ἐπιβὰς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ὃ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. καί (ἦν γὰρ ἀγνὼς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηί) δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτὸν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἔφεσον. καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων 3 δόσει (ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἄργους ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο), καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινος πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ἐς βα-

ραν: the Aegaean. — 7. **τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου**: *sc.* **πόλιν**, which is easily to be supplied here, though rarely omitted. He was then king of Macedonia, called **ὁ φιλέλλην**, son of Amyntas, and father of Perdiccas. *Cf.* c. 57. 4; Hdt. v. 19; viii. 121; 136; ix. 44.

ἀναγομένης: see App. on c. 29. 18. — 8. **ἐπ' Ἰωνίας**: gen., as in c. 116. 3. — 9. **Νάξον**: the siege of c. 98. § 4, B.C. 466. — **ἦν γάρ**: see on c. 31. 7; 135. 8. — 11. **ὅστις . . . φεύγει**: see on c. 136. 11. *Cf.* vi. 34. 40, **ὁπόσοι τ' ἐσμὲν καὶ ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ**. — 12. **τὴν ἀσφάλειαν**: *the indispensable means of safety.* With such preds. the subj. inf. often omits the art. *Cf.* ii. 45. 9; iii. 58. 13. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 6, 5; Kühn. 473, 5. — 13. **μέχρι**: with subjv. without **ἄν**, of a future event; as **μέχρι οὗ** in iii. 28. 15; iv. 16. 16; 41. 2; 46. 12; **ἕως**, Soph. *Aj.* 555; *Trach.* 148; *Phil.* 764; **πρίν**, vi. 10. 19; 29. 9; 38. 9; viii. 9. 3, 14; the rel. pron., iii. 43. 17; iv. 17. 6; 18. 13. Kühn. 398, note 2. — **πλοῦς**: opp. to **ἄπλοια**; *fair weather. Cf.* iii. 3. 23; Hes. *Op.* 630. — 14. **χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι**: not elsewhere in prose. Hes. *Theog.* 504; Eur. *Alc.* 299. Kr. prefers **ἀπομεμνήσεσθαι**, saying that **μνήσεσθαι** is not Attic; and St. after L. Dindorf writes **ἀπομνησθήσεσθαι**. But **μνήσει**, fut. second sing., occurs in Eur. *I. A.* 667. So freq. in Hdt. See Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, p. 452. — 15. **ἀποσαλεύσας**: *cf.* Dem. L. 22, **ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐπ' ἀγκύρας ἀποσαλεύειν τὴν νύκτα μετεώρους**. Here it is probably simply "having ridden out the gale in the open sea." — 16. **ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου**: *cf.* c. 112. 9.

17. **ἐθεράπευσε**: applied to any kindly, generous dealing. *Cf.* c. 9. 16; iii. 12. 3; v. 43. 12; viii. 52. 14. — 18. **αὐτῷ**: see on c. 13. 12. — 19. **ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο**: plpf. pass. of **ὑπεκτιθέναι**, c. 89. 15; *what had been conveyed there for safety. Cf.* viii. 31. 15. — **κάτω, ἄνω**: referring as usual to the coast and the interior. — 20. **ἐς βασιλέα**: so the best Mss., not **ὡς** or **πρός**. The reference is to the king's palace, expressed also by **αἱ θύραι βασιλέως**, Xen. *An.* i. 9. 3. *Cf.* **ἐς θεόν**,

σιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. ἐδήλου δ' ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι "Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἠμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καί μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρειμι διωκόμε- 4

Pind. *Ol.* VII. 32. So also Ar. *Plut.* 237, where Dind. now reads **ὡς**, as Bekk., St., and v. H. do here. — 21. **νεωστί**: acc. to Kr., *St.* I. p. 31 and 52 ff., B.C. 473, against Diod. XI. 69. But see Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, II. p. 399, note 45, p. 659, who assigns as the date B.C. 465. See on c. 104. 4, and Am. J. of Ph. VII. p. 325.

ἐδήλου: *cf.* c. 129. 1. — 22. **ὅτι**: introducing oratio recta. Also in iv. 38. 16; v. 10. 20; viii. 53. 20. Kühn. 551, 4. Very rarely is **ὡς** so used. *Cf.* Dem. XXI. 151; Dinarch. 1. 12, 102. — 24. **ἐπιόντα ἐμοί**: see on c. 83. 2. Themistocles speaks of himself as the representative of Hellas. *Cf.* iv. 64. 1. — 25. **ἐν τῷ . . . ἐμοί**: we must supply the pred. **ἐγίγνετο** with a general subj., as the neut. pl. in c. 7. 2; 93. 14; 125. 5. — 26. **πάλιν**: though before the art. in near relation to **ἀποκομιδή**, as in iv. 10. 14 to **ἀναχωρήσεως**. This connexion of **πάλιν** with a verbal subst. seems more natural when the art. precedes, as in vii. 44. 42, **τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν πάλιν καταβάσεως**, or where a noun of the contrary notion is opposed to it, c. 120. 10; v. 5. 1; vii. 38. 16. Herbst, Philol. 1866, p. 619 f. — 27. **καί μοι κτέ.**: stands in relation to 30, **καὶ νῦν ἔχων κτέ.** He connects his services in the past with promises for the future. — **γράψας**: inserted, as c. 87. 8; 136. 18, but more freely related to the introducing words, 21, **ἐδήλου ἡ γραφή**. — **τὴν προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως**: the advice given to Xerxes (Hdt. viii. 110) to retreat before it was too late. Grote, IV. chap. 41, p. 474, refers this to the message (Hdt. viii. 75) that the Greeks were intending to flee from Salamis. — **ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος**: acc. to Hdt. viii. 108, the second message was sent from Andros. But the detail is unimportant, and the former designation was clearer for a Greek reader. — 29. **ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο**: Cobet, Mnem. 11, 375, wishes to erase these words. Most of the commentators find in them a contradiction of the statement of Hdt. But Hdt., viii. 108, says that Them. strongly urged the destruction of the bridge and was resisted by Eurybiades and the Peloponnesian commanders, and that only after this failure did he oppose (viii. 109) independent action on the part of the Athenians, **ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα . . . ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν. — τὴν . . .**

νος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. βούλομαι δ'
138 ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχὼν αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἥκω δηλῶσαι." βα- 1
σιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν
καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε
τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν
5 ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας· * ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνι- 2
αυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδείς πω Ἑλ-
λήνων διά τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλη-
νικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ πεῖραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ὁ 3
10 Θεμιστοκλῆς, βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας, καὶ

τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διαλυσιν: note this free use of an adverbial qualification, "the non-destruction." *Cf.* iii. 95. 12; v. 35. 6; 50. 17; vii. 34. 26. Kühn. 461, 6. — 31. **τὴν σὴν φιλίαν**: objective, *on account of my friendship to you*. *Cf.* c. 33. 19, 21; 69. 30; 77. 21.

138. 2. **αὐτοῦ**: see on c. 30. 14. — **τὴν διάνοιαν**: power of mind directed to definite objects (*cf.* c. 130. 9; 132. 20; ii. 20. 19; iv. 52. 10), indications of which were in his letter. To these, and not merely to *ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχεῖν*, refer the words, *ποιεῖν οὕτως*. — 3. **ὃν ἐπέσχε**: the rel. is here not assimilated (§), in order not to obscure the expression of duration of time. — 4. **ὅσα ἐδύνατο**: *cf.* the extravagant exaggeration of Nepos, *Them.* 10, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam hi poterant qui in Perside erant nati. — **κατενόησε**: *learned*; usually only of the apprehension of particular things. *Cf.* c. 126. 17; ii. 3. 7; iii. 66. 5.

5. **ἀφικόμενος**: *i.e.* at the King's court. — **μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν**: after the year agreed upon. — 6. **γίγνεται μέγας**: *cf.* Hdt. vi. 30. — **Ἑλλήνων**: Schol., Ἰστιαῖος καὶ Ἱππίας καὶ Δημάρατος καὶ ἄλλοι. — 7. **καὶ . . . ἐλπίδα**: the art. *τήν* is not as in c. 132. 7 to be repeated in thought, but is omitted because its place is supplied by *ἣν ὑπετίθει* (see on c. 85. 1) as elsewhere by adj. and partic. with the art. *Cf.* c. 139. 12, *ἀνδραπόδων τῶν ἀφισταμένων*. See on c. 1. 6. — **τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ**: placed by prolepsis in gen. with *ἐλπίδα*, though in sense it is obj. of *δουλώσειν*. See on c. 61. 1. Kühn. 600, 5. — 9. **πεῖραν διδούς**: partic. impf.; *by the repeated proofs which he gave of it*.

ἦν γάρ: to be joined with *ἄξιος θαυμάσαι*, of which *βεβαιότατα . . . δηλώσας* contains the justification; and so *καί* before *διαφερόντως* is intensive, as in c. 91. 3 before *σαφῶς*, in c. 3. 5 before *πάνυ*. *For in fact* (this is the force of the position of *ἦν*) *Themistocles, having given the surest proofs of the strength of his native powers, was in the very highest degree worthy of admiration in that respect*. To join *ἦν* with *δηλώσας* (so St. and GMT. 108, N. 6) would be contrary to the usage of Thuc., who employs only pres. or pf. partics.

διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι· οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών, τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο, τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο. νοσήσας δὲ τε- 4
λευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἑκούσιον φαρμάκῳ

in periphrasis with εἶναι. *Cf.* c. 38. 8; 99. 7; ii. 12. 6; 80. 15; iii. 3. 1. — 11. ἐξ αὐτό: *cf.* c. 68. 9; 74. 3; 84. 6; 122. 20. — μᾶλλον ἑτέρου: see on c. 84. 7. — θαυμάσαι: so usually the *act.* inf. See Kühn. 473, note 14. — 12. οἰκείᾳ ξυνέσει: *with an intelligence all his own*, inborn as well as self-cultivated. This is enforced from the negative side, οὔτε προμαθών, *i.e.* before his entrance into public life, οὔτε ἐπιμαθών, by which obligation to others is excluded. αὐτήν is explained by the Schol. as = τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς φύσεως, but more probably = ξύνεσιν. — 13. τῶν τε παραχρῆμα: = τῶν παρόντων to be construed with γνώμων as the opposite τῶν μελλόντων is with εἰκαστής, so that δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς answers to ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου. v. H. inserts ἦν after γνώμων. — δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς: *with the shortest deliberation*; διά with gen. both temporal and instrumental. *Cf.* viii. 95. 23. — 14. γνώμων: rare for κριτής. *Cf.* Aesch. *Ag.* 1130. — 15. εἰκαστής: only in Thuc. and late writers. See on these formations c. 70. 10. See App. — μετὰ χεῖρας: *cf.* Hdt. vii. 16; Aeschin. 1. 77. In Hom. χ 10, μετὰ χερσίν. From this, μεταχειρίζεσθαι. — 16. ἔχοι . . . εἴη: opt. as in c. 50. 2; 99. 14. — καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι: *also to set forth*, λόγοις not ἔργῳ. *Cf.* v. 26. 31; vii. 50. 32; in ii. 60. 18, ἑρμηνεῦσαι. — ἄπειρος: not so much 'without experience' as 'without being in direct contact with.' — 17. οὐκ ἀπῆλλακτο: litotes, *he came not short of* = οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἦν, and so with inf. The pf. occurs again in c. 122. 22; 143. 14; iii. 63. 17. — τό τε ἄμεινον: the third fact, in which τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι forms the new point. — 18. ἔτι: to be joined with ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ. *Cf.* c. 30. 20; iii. 13. 5; iv. 26. 20; vii. 84. 10. — τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν: *cf.* vii. 49. 18 The abs. inf. in parenthetical phrase. GMT. 100; H. 956. — 19. φύσεως . . . βραχύτητι: parallel structure of clauses, though each pair has a different relation; δύναμις an essential quality, βραχύτης an accidental one. — 20 οὗτος: resumes the whole personality. *Cf.* c. 33. 10; ii. 51. 8; 64. 33. — αὐτοσχεδιάζειν κτέ.: *instantly to hit upon what was needed*, in act as in word. The ἑτοίμως λέγειν of the Schol. is too narrow. — 21. καὶ ἑκούσιον: the particle connected with the fact instead of the notice of it (λέγουσί τινες). —

ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον (ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι), Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξὴν θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

139 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως· * ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναί-

φαρμάκῳ: for the various accounts, see Cic. *Brut.* 11. 43; Plut. *Them.* 31; Diod. xi. 58; Ar. *Eq.* 83. — 24. **τῇ Ἀσιανῇ**: that on the Maeander (Diod. xi. 57), not that near Mt. Sipylus. — **τῆς χώρας**: the district belonging to the town. — 25. **δόντος βασιλέως**: *cf.* Hdt. i. 92; vii. 135; ix. 107. — **ἄρτον . . . οἶνον . . . ὄψον**: these preds. attached directly to the names answer to the Eastern mode of expression; though *εἰς* (inserted by Cobet) is found in Plut. *Them.* 29; Hdt. ii. 98; Xen. *An.* i. 4. 9. Athen. i. p. 29, adds, **Περκώτην καὶ τὴν Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἱματισμόν.** — 26. **προσέφερε**: rare for the simple *φέρειν*, corresponding to **προσιέναι** (ii. 13. 23; vii. 28. 30) and **πρόσοδος.** — 27. **πολυοινότατον**: neut. adj. with name of town also in c. 10. 1; iv. 76. 15. The district is thought of.

28. **φασὶ . . . οἱ προσήκοντες**: Thuc. evidently doubts the truth of the statement. The words of Nepos, *Them.* 10, ossa eius clam in Attica ab amicis sepulta, seem to rest on a misconception of our passage. — **αὐτοῦ**: **ἐκείνου.** See on c. 132. 31. — 30. **οὐ γὰρ ἐξὴν**: *cf.* Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 22. — **ὡς . . . φεύγοντος**: depending on **τὰ ὀστᾶ.** — 31. **τὰ κατά**: with acc. of person or thing to express the connected occurrences. *Cf.* c. 110. 15; iii. 68. 7.

139. *New demands of the Lacedaemonians on the Athenians, who call an assembly for final deliberation.*

1. **ἐπὶ**: *on the occasion of. Cf.* ii. 2. 3; vi. 34. 59. — 2. **ἐπέταξαν**: c. 126. § 2; **ἀντεκελεύσθησαν**, c. 128. § 1. — 3. **τῆς ἐλάσεως**: governed by **περί.** On the order, see c. 32. 8; 84. 13. — **ὕστερον δέ**: these discussions fall in the winter of

ους Ποτειδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκελευον καὶ Αἴγιναν
αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, καὶ μάλιστά γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλό-
τατα προύλεγον τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι
μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι
τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ
ἀγορᾷ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τἆλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ 2
ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι
τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑπο-
δοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευ- 3
ταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελη-
σίππου καὶ Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
ὧν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι

432–1; Ol. 87. 1.—4. **Ποτειδαίας**: *cf.* c. 64. § 3.—**ἀπανίστασθαι**: of raising a siege; so c. 140. 19.—**Αἴγιναν**: *cf.* c. 67. § 2.—6. **προύλεγον**: *προ-* here and in *προαγορεύειν* (c. 140. 22; iv. 97. 18) not temporal 'in advance,' but of solemn, emphatic declaration, which accounts for the following *μή*, as in c. 140. 25. *Cf.* c. 26. 20; ii. 8. 15; iii. 66. 2; iv. 26. 14; 80. 12; v. 30. 31.—**τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα**: in c. 140. 20, the simple gen. in same sense. For the facts, see c. 67. § 4. The date of this was probably the summer of 432, shortly after the battle near Sybota. Ullrich, *Meg. Pseph.* p. 34.—**καθελοῦσι . . . πόλεμον**: in direct speech, *εἰ καθέλοιτε, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο πόλεμος.*—7. **αὐτούς**: after verbs of 'saying' used for 'commanding' the dat. or acc. of the person is admitted as with *παραγγέλλειν*. Kühn. 475, note 2; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 13.—8. **ἀρχῇ**: *i.e.* the whole Attic confederacy. *Cf.* c. 67. § 4.

10. **ἐπικαλοῦντες**: *cf.* ii. 27. 3; iii. 36. 8; iv. 23. 8; v. 56. 4.—**ἐπεργασίαν**: the extension of tillage beyond certain limits. *Cf.* Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 23; Plat. *Legg.* 843 c; and see on c. 2. 5. Here the tillage of land partly dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses, partly still in dispute, and therefore *ἀόριστος*, not yet marked by boundaries. The spurs of Cithaeron, called *κέρατα* (Strab. ix. 1. 11; Plut. *Them.* 13) formed the natural limit. Grote, V. chap. 48, p. 340.—11. **ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχήν**: such reception proved disastrous to the Athenians in the Decelean war, vii. 27. 22. Ar. *Ach.* 525 ff. after his manner distorts the facts. Yet his story of the theft of certain female slaves of Aspasia's has passed into later narratives. Plut. *Per.* 30; Athen. xiii. p. 570. How much truth there may be in this cannot be told. W. Vischer, *Kl. Schr.* I. 480 f.; Müller-Strübing, *Arist.* p. 48.—12. **ἀφισταμένων**: as of the Helots, c. 101. 7; iii. 54. 18.

14. **ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν**: *ὧν* depends on *οὐδέν*, not on *ἄλλο*, which is opp. to what follows. *Cf.* viii. 67. 9; Hdt. viii. 30. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 4, 10.—15. **αὐτὰ τάδε**: *only this. Cf.* v. 60. 4; vi. 37. 9.—

βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἰ δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἅπαξ περὶ ἁπάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήνει τοιάδε· 4

140 "Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ 1

ὅτι: see on c. 137. 22. — 16. εἶναι: so ii. 75. 5. Often in this sense with a neg.; see on c. 2. 5; 25. 2. — 17. ποιήσαντες: see on c. 67. 11. — 18. γνώμας προυτίθεσαν: *cf.* iii. 36. 21; 42. 1; vi. 14. 3; and in iii. 38. 2, λέγειν προτιθέναι, properly to give every one free right of speech. Since here, instead of οἱ ἐν τέλει or ὁ πρύτανις, the collective οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι appears, we have σφίσιν αὐτοῖς instead of Ἀθηναίοις as in vi. 14. 4. — ἐδόκει: *the general opinion was;* therefore the impf.; the conclusion follows in c. 145. 2 with the aor. ἐψηφίσαντο.

20. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα γιγνόμενοι: the use of γίγνεσθαι explained on c. 37. 13, and like δίχα γίγνεσθαι of c. 64. 6, *expressing opposing opinions.* The details are introduced by καί — καί (not τε — καί), the clauses introduced by ὡς being mutually exclusive. For a similar const., see on c. 27. 7. — 21. χρή: to be repeated with the following infs. The second ὡς, which Kr. wishes to strike out, cannot be dispensed with, considering the opposition of the two clauses. — 24. πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων: this decisive judgment is not added to, but only elucidated by the following words, which are therefore without conj. — 25. παρήνει: introduces a direct speech, also vi. 8. 23; 15. 21; 32. 22.

SPEECH OF PERICLES.

Chaps. 140–144.

140. *I am now, as always, against yielding to the Peloponnesians, and expect that those who vote with me will also share the responsibility for this policy.* § 1. *Instead of appealing to arbitration, the Lacedaemonians present demands, the concession of any of which would be an admission of fear.* § 2–5.

1. τῆς μὲν γνώμης: his own *conviction*, placed thus in opp. to the advice to be given to others, 5, ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ κτέ., where the stress lies on ξυμβουλευτέα. τῆς αὐτῆς: *cf.* c. 127. 9. — ἔχομαι: *cf.* c. 22. 6; iv. 66. 10; v. 49. 21; viii. 81. 2. — 2. μὴ εἴκειν: *that we should not yield;* depending on γνώμης, and representing the imv. — 3. τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ: *with the same temper* or *zeal.* See

ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια ξυμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαιῶ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἢν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἧσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· διόπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε 2 δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἑκατέρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ

on c. 130. 11; iii. 45. 18. — 4. **ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ**: *when it comes to action.* See on c. 120. 27. — **πρὸς τὰς ξυμφοράς**: *cf.* iii. 82. 18; vi. 34. 47; Dem. i. 11. Here and in 9 = eventus, whether in good or in bad sense. *Cf.* ii. 64. 32; Soph. *O. T.* 33. — 5. **τρεπομένους**: pass., as iv. 106. 12, *γνώμας* being acc. of specification, as in ii. 59. 4; iv. 106. 2. — **ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια**: two adjs. for emphasis, without important difference of meaning. *Cf.* Dem. iii. 27; and see on c. 27. 4. — 7. **δικαιῶ**: as appealing rather to duty than to honour; stronger than **ἀξιῶ**. *Cf.* iv. 64. 7. — **τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν**: = *τούτοις ἃ ἂν κοινῇ δόξῃ.* — **ἢν ἄρα τι καί**: *if after all we do, etc.;* each particle helps to reject the probability of failure. — 8. **βοηθεῖν**: see on c. 123. 3. — **ἢ . . . μεταποιεῖσθαι**: *or, in case of success, they must not claim a share either in the credit of good judgment.* **ἢ** = **εἰ δὲ μή**. See on c. 78. 13; ii. 63. 3; v. 63. 11. With *κατορθοῦντας* the subject is changed imperceptibly. See on c. 18. 21; 39. 15. On *μεταποιεῖσθαι*, *cf.* ii. 51. 20. — 9. **ἐνδέχεται γάρ**: *for it may happen*, even if it is not likely, referring to *ἢν . . . σφαλλώμεθα*. See on c. 124. 7. Note that *οὐχ ἧσσον* follows *ἐνδέχεται* here (not as in c. 142. 25) from the fixity of the formula. — 10. **ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι**: *take an unforeseen course*, one not reckoned upon; **ἀμαθῶς** here in the rare pass. meaning (not as in c. 84. 13). Grote, V. chap. 48, p. 371, understands *ἀμαθῶς* in connexion with *διανοίας* in its usual active sense, 'ignorant,' 'deficient in reason.' There is probably no such play of meaning. — **ἢ καί**: *καί* placed as in rel. sentences. See on c. 74. 25. — **τὰς διανοίας**: *purposes, plans. Cf.* c. 84. 17; 144. 5; vi. 11. 23; 31. 6. — **τοῦ ἀνθρώπου**: *of a man;* art. generic; more usually in pl. *Cf.* Xen. *An.* ii. 6. 10. — 11. **ὅσα**: *in everything which.*

12. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ**: transition from the general to the particular, as in c. 32. 7, *but now, etc.* — 13. **εἰρημένον**: acc. abs. See on c. 2. 8, and *cf.* vii. 18. 14. For the fact, see c. 78. 12. — 14. **τῶν διαφόρων**: not *διαφορῶν* with P. and Kr. *Cf.* c. 56. 2; 78. 12. —

δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πάρεισι. Ποτειδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύουσι καὶ Αἴ- 3
γιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἷδε ἥκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς 4
νομίσῃ περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν, εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προύχονται εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, μηδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὡς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε· τὸ γὰρ βραχύ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν 5
καὶ πεῖραν τῆς γνώμης· οἷς εἰ ξυγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο τι μεῖζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπα-

15. ἔχειν ἃ ἔχομεν: regular description of the status quo. *Cf.* iv. 65. 3; 118. 14. — 16. διδόντων: *cf.* c. 33. 25; 35. 22. — 17. διαλύεσθαι: see on c. 131. 12; here trans. with acc., but intr. in c. 145. 6. — 18. ἐπιτάσσοντες: *dictating*, like masters; abs.; rare in prose; with dat. in vi. 82. 11. *Cf.* Soph. *O. C.* 839; *Ant.* 668; Theocr. xv. 90. — αἰτιώμενοι: *expostulating* like equals. *Cf.* c. 69. 33.

19. ἀπανίστασθαι: *cf.* c. 139. 4. — 20. Μεγαρέων: short for περὶ Μεγαρέων, c. 139. 6. *Cf.* the gen. in c. 129. 12. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 7, 6. — 21. τελευταῖοι: adv. to ἥκοντες. See on c. 12. 3; 61. 18. — 22. προαγορεύουσιν: see on c. 139. 6.

23. περὶ βραχέος: *cf.* c. 78. 1. — 24. ὅπερ: grammatically object of προύχονται, taken by prolepsis from the subj. of καθαιρεθείη. *Cf.* c. 82. 26; 88. 3. Kr. makes ὅπερ nom. and subj. of καθαιρεθείη, saying that such prolepsis is not found before a conditional particle. But *cf.* Plat. *Phaed.* 95 b, ταὐτὰ δὴ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κάδμου λόγον εἰ πάθοι. For μή, see on c. 139. 7. — 26. αἰτίαν: *reproach;* with ὑπολίπησθε (in your own thoughts) as with ἐπιφέρειν, iii. 46. 26; 81. 20; v. 75. 9; vi. 76. 17.

27. τὸ βραχύ τι τοῦτο: τι thus added to the repeated βραχύ adds to the notion of triviality. — ἔχει: *contains.* See on c. 97. 13. — 28. οἷς: on the rel. in this position, see on c. 68. 15; and *cf.* c. 35. 15; 69. 20; 95. 21. The forcible effect of ὅπερ μάλιστα προύχονται, 24, which controls all that follows, appears to permit the pron. οἷς to refer to the subj. of προύχονται, and the demand itself to be obj. of ξυγχωρήσετε. For a similar free ref. of the rel., *cf.* iv. 26. 12. The conjecture of J. Steup, ὃ ἴστε (for οἷς) is, therefore, not necessary. — 29. ἐπιταχθήσεσθε: pass., from ἐπιτάσσειν

κούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε
141 αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῶν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι. αὐτό- 1
θεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρώ τι βλαβῆναι, ἢ εἰ
πολεμήσομεν, ὡς ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ με-
γάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἴξοντες μηδὲ
ξὺν φόβῳ ἕξοντες ἃ κεκτήμεθα. τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται
δούλωσιν ἥ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν
ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.

τινί. See on c. 2. 18. — 30. **ἀπισχυρισάμενοι**: short for *ἰσχυρῶς (βεβαίως) ἀπωσάμενοι*. — **σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε**: *will make them understand clearly. Cf.* c. 32. 6; vii. 44. 26. The inf. *προσφέρεσθαι* represents the dependent imv., as *μὴ εἴκειν* in 2. The aor. opt. with *ἄν* points more distinctly than the simple fut. to the effect now to be produced. See on c. 127. 6. Madvig, *Adv.* I. p. 309, proposes *σαφὲς ἐγκαταστήσετε*. — 31. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**: *as equal to equal. Cf.* c. 99. 7. — **προσφέρεσθαι**: with dat., v. 111. 23; with *πρός τινα*, v. 105. 17.

141. *Therefore a quick decision should be taken.* § 1. *If war comes, as I hold it to be advisable, it will be found that we have the advantage of the Peloponnesians in means, in varied adaptation to events, and in unity of interest.* § 2–7.

The first section gives the conclusion to be drawn from c. 140. § 2–5. With § 2 begins the discussion of points unfavourable to the Peloponnesians, which continues to c. 143. § 2. Then are mentioned the advantages on the side of the Athenians, to c. 144. § 1.

1. **αὐτόθεν**: temporal, as in vi. 21. 9; prop. 'from the spot,' and therefore like *ὅσπερ εἶχεν*, c. 134. 14, *immediately, on the spot.* — 2. **διανοήθητε**: see on c. 18. 18. — 3. **ἐπί**: with dat. causal, as in c. 138. 31. — 4. **ὁμοίως**: places the two notions on the same level, strengthening *καί . . . καί*, used as in c. 139. 21. *Cf.* c. 39. 4. — **εἴξοντες . . . ἕξοντες**: though the const. is changed, these partics., as above the inf. *ὑπακούειν*, denote the obj. of *διανοήθητε*. A similar const. in vi. 78. 5, *ἐνθυμηθήτω μαχούμενος*. Sh. supplies *πολεμεῖν*, which P. suggests. "The intercalated *ὡς* causes the shift, as if *ὡς μὴ εἴξοντες κτέ*." B. L. G. P. thinks also that the partics. might depend on some appropriate verb implied in *διανοήθητε*, comparing vii. 68. 3, *νομίσωμεν . . . εἶναι . . . ἐκγενησόμενον*. Kühn. 484, note 4. — 5. **δύναται**: valet, *means, implies. Cf.* iii. 46. 10; vi. 36. 9. But here only with a subst. as obj. — 6. **δούλωσιν** (iii. 10. 15) . . . **δικαίωσις** (iv. 86. 21; v. 17. 11): Thucydidean nouns; the latter 'a demand based on a claim of right' (see on c. 140. 7); to which, therefore, the notion of indecent arrogance is given by *ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιτασσομένη*. The last words we must take with Kr. and Herbst (*Gegen Cobet*, p. 51) as masc. (so viii. 89. 27) though Bonitz, p. 24, and Sh. think neut. The pl. makes this case different from c. 77. 16. — 7. **πρὸ δίκης**: 'before,' *i.e.* really *without proceeding by way of, arbitration.*

Τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων 2
ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούον-
τες. αὐτουργοί τε γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ 3
οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρονίων πο-
λέμων καὶ διαποντίων ἄπειροι διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ'
ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε 4
ναῦς πληροῦν οὔτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν
δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες καὶ προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι·

8. **τὰ δὲ . . . ὑπαρχόντων**: placed at the beginning of the period as the theme of the following exposition as regards both sides. From this must the advantage of one side, *τὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντα*, be supplied as obj. to *οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν*. The following description of the position and warlike resources of the Peloponnesians is so plainly opposed to that of the Corinthians, c. 121, 122, that we can see plainly the literary use made by Thuc. of the thoughts of Pericles, which are no doubt truly stated. See the Introd. p. 44 ff.

10. **αὐτουργοί τε γὰρ κτέ.**: to appreciate the following reasoning we must observe that in § 3 three characteristics of the Peloponnesians of an unfavourable tendency are joined by *τε, καί, ἔπειτα*. In § 4, 5, these are illustrated by their necessary results in reverse (chiastic order). Thus: (1) 13, *καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι κτέ.* expands *ἔπειτα χρονίων κτέ.*; (2) 17, *αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι κτέ.* enforces *καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ κτέ.*; (3) 18, *σώμασί τε κτέ.* repeats *αὐτουργοί τε γὰρ κτέ.* — **αὐτουργοί**: properly those who use their own hands, not those of slaves, in work; then, from the prevailing application of *ἔργα* to agriculture, *those who till their own land*,= *γεωργοί* of c. 142. 18. — 12. **διαποντίων**: here only in Thuc.; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 2. 16; freq. in Polyb., Dion., Plut. — **βραχέως**: *for a short time*; in this sense only here; elsewhere 'in brief,' of speeches. *Cf.* c. 97. 12; iii. 61. 2; v. 9. 4. — 13. **ἐπιφέρειν**: *sc.* *πολέμους* or *ὅπλα*, which occurs in iv. 16. 5; 78. 23; v. 18. 12; vii. 18. 15. If *βραχεῖς* (so v. H.) were read for *βραχέως*, two unusual features would be removed.

14. **πληροῦν**: so v. H. and St.; which gives a simpler const. than *πληροῦντες* of Mss. But the other editors, as Cl. formerly, make *ναῦς* as well as *στρατιάς* obj. of *ἐκπέμπειν*, retaining *πληροῦντες* (*neither ships, manning them*), which emphasizes the point wherein the Peloponnesians would naturally come short. This seems preferable. — 15. **ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων**: *away from*. *Cf.* c. 7. 6; 76. 7; 99. 10. — **ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν**: *with*. *Cf.* c. 74. 18; 91. 28. Here only Thuc. uses *τὰ αὐτῶν* for *τὰ σφέτερα*, ii. 20. 12; iii. 95. 14; 107. 12; iv. 66. 4. The Peloponnesian soldier had to maintain himself; *ἅμα* calls attention to the difficulty of doing this while farms were left without cultivation. — 16. **θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι**: (*cf.* ii. 85. 4; iii. 86. 15; 115. 10) by the superior skill

αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι· σώμασί τε ἑτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἑνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι, πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄν-

of their adversaries. — 17. **αἱ περιουσίαι**: *sc.* *χρημάτων*; *cf.* c. 7. 2; 8. 15, referring probably to the reserved fund of the Athenians. See ii. 13. 25. — **βίαιοι ἐσφοραί**: extraordinary taxes, imposed in times of necessity, as the Corinthians had advised, c. 121. 19. In vi. 20. 6 we have *βίαιος δουλεία*, and in iii. 82. 18 war is called *βίαιος διδάσκαλος*. — 18. **ἀνέχουσι**: Schol., *βαστάζουσι, αὐξάνουσι, keep up, support;* probably without an exact parallel. *Cf.* Aristid. *Panath.* p. 182, *πάντας ἀνθρώπους . . . τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀνέχετε.*

σώμασι: *with life and limb;* often opp. to *χρήματα*. *Cf.* c. 85. 4; 121. 12. Here *τὸ μέν* refers to *τὰ σώματα*, *τὸ δέ* to *τὰ χρήματα*, and both are objs. of *ἔχοντες*. In the connected expressions *πιστὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ βέβαιον* (*ἔχοντες*) the objective thought (to possess a *thing*) passes into the subjective, 'to have a confident hope,' 'to have no assurance'; and then *τὸ μέν, τὸ δέ* are on the one hand to be construed as objs. of *ἔχοντες*; on the other, to be connected closely with the infs. *ἂν περιγενέσθαι* and *προαναλώσειν*, with the former as acc. of specification (since *αὐτοί* is to be supplied there), with the latter as obj. The sense is, "people who till their lands with their own hands are more inclined to risk their lives in war than their property; for, as to their lives, they have a good hope that they will pass safely through the dangers of war; but they feel no confidence that they will not use up their property before the war comes to an end." *Cf.* the quite different inference from the same premises in c. 121. § 3, 4. — 20. **μὴ οὐ**: instead of *μή* with inf. depending on a negatived verb. *Cf.* viii. 60. 5; 71. 5. GMT. 95, 2, N. 1 *b*; H. 1034. Kühn. 516, 5; Kr. *Spr.* 67, 12, 6. — 22. **αὐτοῖς**: see on c. 6. 8; 48. 9.

24. **ἀντισχεῖν**: aor. in reference to *μάχῃ μιᾷ* (*cf.* c. 117. 12; vi. 91. 9); **πολεμεῖν**, pres., of protracted war. — **μὴ κτέ.**: = *οὐ δύνανται ἐὰν μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν πολεμῶσι*, implying that the Athenians were furnished in a quite different fashion. See on c. 91. 28. — 25. **ὅταν**: introduces a confident reason in form of an uncertain assumption, *so long as, while. Cf.* *ἕως ἄν*, Plat. *Phaed.* 74 c. — **βουλευτηρίῳ ἑνί**: an indirect justification of the Athenian hegemony in opp. to the Spartan demand, *τοὺς ξυμμάχους*

τες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἐξ
ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελὲς γίγνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς
μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαί τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα
30 τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι. χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν 7
μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεῖα
πράσσουσι· καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν
οἴεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι
προϊδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἁπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι
142 λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον. μέγιστον δὲ 1
τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῇ αὐτὰ

αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι. — 27. **οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι**: they are not all Dorians, but some Thebans, Achaeans, Arcadians. *οὐ* retained, though after *ὅταν*, as the regular neg. for contradicting a single notion. See on c. 78. 1. — **τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν**: we should expect (*cf.* c. 17. 2) *ἑαυτῶν* or *ἑαυτοῦ*. *Cf.*, however, iv. 28. 5; viii. 48. 41; Soph. *Ant.* 889. — **ἕκαστος**: after the pl. subj. makes the verb sing. *Cf.* ii. 16. 11. — **σπεύδῃ**: with acc. *Cf.* v. 16. 7; vi. 10. 15; 79. 14. — 28. **φιλεῖ**: see on c. 78. 5. Here, like iv. 125. 7 and probably vii. 80. 12, to be taken impers. This will explain the neg. *μηδέν*, as in c. 142. 26, after *ἐνδέχεται*. Kühn. 514, 2 b; Kr. *Spr.* 67, 7, 1. — **ἐπιτελὲς γίγνεσθαι**: only here in Thuc. Hdt., i. 124, who often uses *ἐπιτελὲς ποιεῖν*, as iii. 141; iv. 4; v. 107. — 29. **τινα**: designating any object at pleasure, like *οἱ πέλας*. *Cf.* c. 37. 12; 69. 17.

30. **χρόνιοι** (c. 140. 21) **ξυνιόντες**: *and when at last they do come together for consultation*. *Cf.* the complaint of the Corinthians, c. 69. 8. — **ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ**: after *χρόνιοι* the ellipse of *χρόνου* is easy. *Cf.* c. 85. 3. Also with *τῷ πλέονι* (on which the force of *ἐν* is continued) *χρόνῳ*, not *μορίῳ*, is to be supplied. But Kr. supplies *τῆς ξυνόδου* with *μορίῳ*. St., Jahrb. 1863, p. 478, explains the two expressions, 'to a small degree,' 'mainly.' — 32. **παρά**: with acc., *in consequence of*; freq. in Dem., as in iv. 11; xviii. 232, 239. — 33. **μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ**: *but that of course some one else is taking care*. — 34. **ὑπὸ ἁπάντων ἰδίᾳ**: joined with *δοξάσματι* as with a pass. partic. See on c. 95. 16; 130. 3.

142. *The attempt to establish themselves in our country will not help them; and at sea, in spite of all their efforts, they can never match us.*

1. **μέγιστον δέ**: = *ὅπερ δὲ μέγιστόν ἐστι*, regularly with the art. *Cf.* ii. 65. 9; iii. 63. 10; iv. 70. 18; 108. 28; viii. 76. 35; 92. 34: 96. 9; without art. c. 35. 19; vi. 69. 25. But *μέγιστον* may here agree with the inner object of *κωλύσονται*; *they will experience their greatest hindrance*. *Cf.* Plat. *Phaed.* 60 a, *ὕστατον δή σε προσεροῦσι*; and see Kühn. 410, note 5. — 2. **κωλύσονται**: fut. mid. with pass. meaning, as *ἐασόμενοι*, 19. Kühn. 376, 4. — **ὅταν**: see on c. 141. 25. — **σχολῇ**:

πορίζόμενοι διαμέλλωσι· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί.

"Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν 2
ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ 3
πόλῳ ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἢ που δὴ ἐν πολε-
μίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων·
φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἄν τι 4
μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε
ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν
ἐκείνων καί, ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι.

opp. to ταχύ, as iii. 46. 10. — 3. **οὐ μενετοί**: act.; *apt to stay, = οὐχ οἷοι μένειν. Cf.* Ar. *Av.* 1620; Dem. iv. 37, *οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν.*

5. **οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις κτέ.**: refers to c. 122. 3. — 6. **φοβηθῆναι**: act. sense with ἄξιον, as c. 138. 11, ἄξιος θαυμάσαι. — **τὴν μὲν γάρ**: the acc. thus placed at the beginning, stands in no exact const. with the following words (see on c. 32. 18); it is neither subj. nor obj., but seems to introduce the matter in hand; *as regards the first*, viz. the ἐπιτείχισις. The second point comes in at 15, τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κτέ. (With παρασκευάσασθαι a general subject must be supplied.) Epiteichisis consisted either in the founding of a permanent settlement at a point dangerous to the enemy (as Heracleia, iii. 92), or in the establishment of a fort from which sallies might be made (as Deceleia, vii. 19). So πόλιν and φρούριον are species to the genus τὴν μὲν (ἐπιτείχισιν). — 7. **ἢ που δή**: *of course therefore. Cf.* vi. 37. 15. — **πολεμίᾳ**: *sc. γῇ. Cf.* ii. 11. 20; iii. 58. 24; v. 64. 18. — 8. **οὐχ ἧσσον**: the neg. belongs only to the adv. The inf. would take μή. See on c. 141. 28. — **ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων**: it is best to understand this pf. not with Cl., of the assurance the speaker feels that the Athenians will be beforehand with the Spartans in adopting this measure, but with Sh. (and apparently St.), "much more in time of war when our city is a counter-ἐπιτείχισμα against their infant colony." Athens itself is represented, and not, as Kr. and B. think, other existing fortresses as Oenoe. This allusion to the ἐπιτείχισις is probably put into the mouth of Pericles as one of τὰ δέοντα (c. 22. 5) by Thuc. writing at the end of the war, with the knowledge of the occupation of Pylos, Cythera (vii. 26. 10), and Deceleia. Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 581.

9. **βλάπτοιεν ἄν**: after fut. GMT. 54, 1 a; H. 901 a. — 10. **αὐτομολίαις**: *i.e.* of slaves. *Cf.* vii. 27. § 5; viii. 40. 11. — 11. **ἐπιτειχίζειν**: depends on κωλύειν. GMT. 95, 2 a; H. 963. — 12. **ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν**: *cf.* ii. 13. 18. — **ἀμύνεσθαι**: *to retaliate*, not here 'to defend ourselves.' *Cf.* c. 42. 2; ii. 67. 28; iv. 63. 11. He refers to attacks by sea on the Peloponnesus, which also would be attended by καταδρομαί and

πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ 5
ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἤπειρον ἐς τὰ ναυτικά.
τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥᾳδίως 6
αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετῶντες αὐτὸ 7
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες
γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι
ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἀεὶ ἐφορμεῖ-
σθαι, ἄξιον ἄν τι δρῷεν; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμού- 8
σας κἂν διακινδυνεύσειαν πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνον-
τες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ
μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρό-
τεροι. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, 9
καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχῃ, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι,

αὐτομολίαι. *Cf.* vii. 26. § 2. — 13. **πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν κτέ.**: **πλέον ἔχομεν** means as usual (*cf.* c. 37. 18; 42. 15; 76. 15; iii. 43. 12; iv. 59. 7; 62. 16; vii. 36. 6; viii. 99. 12), *we have the advantage*, though here the comp. retains its full const. with **ἢ ἐκεῖνοι**. The gen. **τοῦ κατὰ γῆν**, *as regards operations on land*, is like c. 22. 14; 36. 11; Hdt. i. 32, **μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου**: and **ἐκ** governs **ἐμπειρίας** with its obj. gen. placed before it, *from our experience in naval matters*, as in c. 32. 8; 84. 13; 107. 26; 139. 2, and its article is omitted, as in c. 3. 1; 11. 2; 23. 20; 36. 11; 107. 26.

15. **τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κτέ.**: refers to c. 121. 14. — 17. **ἐξείργασθέ πω**: *have as yet brought it to perfection*. This remark answers so well to the thought of Pericles that the particle **πω**, though wanting in the best Mss., can hardly be dispensed with; it might easily drop out before the following **πῶς**. — 18. **οὐδὲ . . . ἐασόμενοι**: expressed with the same confidence as 8 above: "we will leave them no time to practise." The pass. sense is rare. *Cf.* Eur. *I. A.* 331; Dem. 11. 16, **ἐάμενοι διατρίβειν**; viii. 59, **ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἐᾶσθαι**. — 19. **ἐφορμεῖσθαι**: *cf.* viii. 20. 3; pass. of **ἐφορμεῖν** with dat. See on c. 2. 18; 140. 29.

21. **διακινδυνεύσειαν**: *force their way through*. *Cf.* iv. 29. 8; v. 46. 11. — 22. **τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι**: see on c. 36. 3; *the lack of practice*. — 23. **δι' αὐτό**: *just for this reason*. *Cf.* c. 68. 9; 74. 3. — 24. **τέχνης**: *a matter of acquired skill*. *Cf.* c. 83. 4. — **ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι**: *as much as anything else whatever*. *Cf.* vi. 18. 38; Xen. *An.* i. 3. 15, **ὅς τις καὶ ἄλλος**. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 32, 13. — 25. **ὅταν τύχῃ**: *at any chance time*, without plan. So **τυχεῖν**, pers. and impers., is used in various relative turns to express accidental circumstances of time, place, fact. No doubt a grammatical supplement is to be assumed as original, but is not present to the mind of the speaker. *Cf.* **ὡς, ὅπως ἔτυχε**, iv. 25. 7; v. 20. 9; 56. 15; viii. 95. 21; **ὁπόθεν τύχοιεν**, iv. 26. 20; with rel. pron., iii. 43. 18; viii. 48. 36. — **ἐκ παρέργου**: and

143 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι. εἴ 1
τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων
μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῷντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν
ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν
τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρ-
χει καί, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ
τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ
ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν 2
ξένων τήν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἥσσονος ἅμα
ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκεί-
νοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι.

ἐν παρέργῳ, as a by-work, a holiday task. Cf. vi. 69. 27; vii. 27. 20. — 26. **μηδὲν . . . γίγνεσθαι**: *sc. δεῖ* from *ἐνδέχεται*. See on c. 141. 28.

143. *Nor will they be able to seduce our sailors by money, for the best of them are Athenian citizens.* § 1, 2. *Our superiority at sea will enable us to endure for a time even the loss of our own country.* § 3–5.

εἴ τε καί: the third point (in reference to c. 121. § 3), after the *ἐπιτείχισις*, c. 142. 6, and the *ναυτικόν*, c. 142. 15. — 2. **κινήσαντες**: see on c. 93. 8. The obj. is the part. gen. *τῶν χρημάτων*, like vi. 70. 20. See on c. 30. 8; 58. 15. — **Δελφοῖς**: without *ἐν* because under the influence of the locative **Ὀλυμπίασιν** (see Kühn. 336, note). Conversely, in c. 121. 8, **Ὀλυμπίᾳ** is controlled by *ἐν*. — 3. **ὑπολαβεῖν**: see on c. 68. 18. — 4. **μὴ ὄντων ἡμῶν κτέ.**: this gen. abs. makes the prot. to **δεινὸν ἂν ἦν**, being = *εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀντίπαλοι ἦμεν*. The second *ἐσβάντων . . . μετοίκων* is subord. to the former, = "supposing we ourselves (*i.e.* citizens of the two lower Solonian classes, see iii. 16. 6) and the metics went on board and served." — 5. **νῦν δέ**: *but as it is. Cf.* c. 68. 14; 71. 8. — **τόδε ὑπάρχει**: = *ἀντίπαλοί ἐσμεν*. — 6. **κυβερνήτας**: pred., *we have citizens for steersmen.* — 7. **τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν**: *the rest of our crews. Cf.* vi. 31. 21. This noun being collective, the adjs. are pl. *Cf.* c. 24. 9; 136. 2.

8. **καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ κτέ.**: *καί* belongs to *οὐδεὶς τῶν ξένων* as opp. to citizens. *ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ, in view of the danger.* See on c. 70. 10. "Not only on our citizens may we reckon; even the strangers among us will not consent, for the offers our enemies can make them, to give up their own homes." For, since these maritime places were dependent on Athens, such would be the result of Athenian success; no one who had taken part with the Peloponnesians being allowed to return to his native city. The inf. after *δέχεσθαι*, as in iii. 53. 4; v. 94. 3. *Cf.* Soph. *El.* 1304 with Wolff's note. — 10. **ἕνεκα**: (as usual placed between the attendant gens; *cf.* c. 5. 6; 73. 17) belongs to *δόσεως*, on which *μεγάλου μισθοῦ* depends, and *ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν* on both.

"Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ παρα- 3
πλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὥνπερ
ἐκείνοις ἐμεμψάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἴσου μεγάλα ἔχειν. ἤν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῇ ἴω- 4
σιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ
τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται Πελοποννήσου μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἕξουσιν ἄλλην ἀν-
τιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεί, ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ γῆ πολλὴ καὶ ἐν νήσοις
καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον. μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος· 5
σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀλη-
πτότεροι ἦσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοη-
θέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης

12. **καὶ τὰ μὲν κτέ.**: transition to the second part of the examination of *τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων*, c. 141. 8. — **τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια**: *cf.* c. 28. 17; vii. 78. 4. — 13. **ὥνπερ**: assimilated from **ἅπερ**. — 14. **ἐκείνοις**: though = *τοῖς ἐκείνων* (*cf.* c. 71. 9, *πρὸς αὐτούς*) is still pers. so as to justify the dat. with *μέμφεσθαι*, as in iv. 61. 18. Kr. *Spr.* 46, 7, 3. — **ἀπηλλάχθαι**: *to be free from*. *Cf.* c. 122. 22; iii. 63. 17; viii. 2. 21. — **οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**: *more than a match*. This enhances the force of *μεγάλα*, which, though not indispensable (v. H. omits it, following Cobet, *V. L.* p. 436), is added to balance *ὥνπερ . . . ἐμεμψάμην*.

15. **ἤν τε κτέ.**: the speaker's purpose was here to detail the *μεγάλα* just spoken of. But the first point touched upon, the proper conduct of the Athenians when invaded by land, is treated with so much fulness, that the second, to which the **τε** points, is omitted altogether; and only in c. 144. 1 is the thread resumed with **πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα**, to be again postponed to some other occasion, c. 144. 5. See App. — 16. **καὶ οὐκέτι κτέ.**: *οὐκέτι* implies the certain change of a former opinion; "they will not *then* find it the same thing" (but far worse). *Cf.* Plat. *Gorg.* 475 c, *ἀμφοτέροις μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὑπερβάλλοι*, 'it cannot *now* excel in both.' Pind *Ol.* i. 5, 114. With *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου*, *cf.* ii. 3. 18, *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνεσθαι*, and see on c. 34. 10. — 18. **ἀντιλαβεῖν**: *receive in compensation*. *Cf.* iii. 40. 13; 58. 7. — 20. **κατ' ἤπειρον**: particularly on the Thracian coast.

21. **σκέψασθε δέ**: introduces an explanatory addition; so iii. 58. 21; iii. 46. 4 with *γάρ*; c. 33. 7 with *καί*. — **ἀληπτότεροι**: *less assailable*. *Cf.* c. 37. 20; 82. 21. — 22. **καὶ νῦν**: used in partial, as *νῦν δέ* in complete opposition to a state of things previously described; "and though islanders we are not, yet now we must get as near as possible to the islanders' way of thinking." For *διανοηθέντας*, *cf.* vii. 5. 15, where *οὕτως* answers to *ἐγγύτατα τούτου*; iii. 40. 32, *γενόμενοι ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν*. — 23. **τὴν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας**: *the land and houses thereon*. One art. (as the following

καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
25 ὀργισθέντας πολλῷ πλείοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι (κρατήσαντές
τε γὰρ αὖθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχούμεθα, καὶ ἢν σφαλῶμεν
τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσαπόλλυται· οὐ
γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρα-
τεύειν), τήν τε ὀλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι,
30 ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλ' οἱ
ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ᾤμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐ-
τοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι καὶ δεῖξαι Πε-
λοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἕνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε.

144 "Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, 1
ἢν ἐθέλητε ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ
κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μᾶλλον γὰρ πε-
φόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων

τῆς) covers both nouns (see on c. 120. 10), as in 30, 31, both together are denoted by the neut. prons. τάδε, ταῦτα. — **24. πόλεως**: denotes all inclosed by the walls, Athens as well as Piraeus. — **φυλακὴν ἔχειν**: a continued φυλάσσειν. *Cf.* c. 57. 20; ii. 69. 3; v. 50. 10; viii. 11. 11. — **25. μὴ διαμάχεσθαι**: the neg. μή gains weight by its postponement, but does not affect the partic. ὀργισθέντας, as Cl. says; *though enraged with them.* — **26. μαχούμεθα**: *we shall have to fight.* — **27. τὰ τῶν . . . ἰσχύομεν**: *cf.* iii. 39. 43, ἡ πρόσοδος, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν. — **οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι**: euphemistic for ἀποστήσονται. — **29. τήν τε ὀλόφυρσιν**: third member, after μὲν κτέ., δὲ κτέ., 23. — **οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς**: gen. depending on the subst. ὀλόφυρσιν, as ii. 51. 22. In vi. 78. 16 the pass. aor. of the verb has the dat. — **31. κτῶνται**: applied by zeugma to τοὺς ἄνδρας = γεννᾷ, τίκτει. The same thought in vii. 77. 39. — **32. αὐτά**: referring to γῆν καὶ οἰκίας. See on 23.

144. *We must not, however, undertake conquests while the war lasts.* § 1. *We should reject decisively all their demands, convinced that the war must come, and resolved to engage in it in a way worthy of our fathers.* § 2–5.

1. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κτέ.: this is the continuance of what begins with ἥν τε, c. 143. 15. — **ἔχω**: = ἔχω εἰπεῖν, v. 105. 17. *Cf.* ii. 46. 1. — **2. ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι**: *in addition to* what we have, with principal stress on ἅμα πολεμοῦντες. The same thought and reference to the Sicilian expedition in ii. 65. 24. — **3. προστίθεσθαι**: see on c. 78. 3. — **μᾶλλον γὰρ . . . διανοίας**: gives parenthetically the reason of what precedes. — **πεφόβημαι**: emotional pres. pf. *Cf.* iv. 114. 24; vi. 34. 49. Curtius, *Verb.* II.² p. 175. — **4. τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν**: poss. gen. with corresponding adj. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 5, 1.

διανοίας· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς 2
ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπο-
πέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι
χρῆσθαι, ἣν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι
μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ-
νο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε), τάς τε πόλεις
ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπει-
σάμεθα καὶ ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι ταῖς αὑτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι
μὴ σφίσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖ-
σθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ἑκάστοις ὡς βούλονται· δίκας δὲ ὅτι

—5. **ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα**: referring to *πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα*, 1. — **ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ**: in the speech given in outline in ii. 13, particularly from § 3. But probably this indication has reference to the arrangement of his material by the historian (see on c. 141. 8); particularly so the words *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις*, *i.e.* "when the story of the events comes to be told." So also *δηλωθήσεται*, not *δηλώσω*, *ἀποφανῶ*, *ἀποδείξω*, because it is the intention of Thuc. expressed in the words of Pericles. Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 564. Pericles could hardly in reality defer an important part of his advice to the time of actual war. — 6. **ἀποκρινάμενοι**: the partic. contains the main gist of the sentence, governing all on to *ἀμυνούμεθα*, 16. The chief points of the Lacedaemonian demands are indicated at the head of three clauses by *Μεγαρέας*, 7, *τὰς πόλεις*, 10, *δίκας*, 14. In the first two, the answer is connected with a condition; but as this will certainly not be granted, there is practically a refusal. — 8. **ξενηλασίας**: usually in pl.; the expulsion of foreigners from Laconia, at the discretion of the Ephors. Schömann, *Ant. of Greece*, I. 278. *Cf.* ii. 39. 3; Ar. *Av.* 1013. — **ποιῶσι**: *establish by law*, not 'carry out,' which would be *ποιῶνται*. See on c. 77. 3. — 9. **οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κτέ.**: *ἐκεῖνο*, the Spartan xenelasy, *τόδε*, the Megarian decree. *κωλύει* appears to be used as in Ar. *Av.* 463, *λόγος ὃν διαμάττειν οὐ κωλύει* (= *οὐδὲν κωλύει*). "In the terms of the truce there is as little prohibition of the one as of the other." — 10. **τάς τε πόλεις**: though unusual for *τὰς δέ*, not to be changed against the best Mss. Instances of this closer connexion of an emphatic word are found in ii. 70. 12; iii. 46. 9; iv. 32. 8 (Mss.). — 11. **εἰ καὶ . . . ἐσπεισάμεθα**: as was not the case (in the 30 years' truce, c. 115. 1). — 12. **καὶ ὅταν . . . βούλονται**: which they will, however, never allow. Both conditions represent with ironical confidence a decided rejection. — 13. **τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις**: purposely added to prevent the possible reference of *σφίσι* to *πόλεις*. — **ἐπιτηδείως**: *cf.* c. 19. 3, where the indifferent *πολιτεύειν* follows, while here *αὐτονομεῖσθαι* of itself neutralizes the *σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως*. So *μή* belongs in thought to the adv., though construed with the inf. — 14. **αὐτοῖς ἑκάστοις**: referring *κατὰ σύνε-*

ἐθελομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἅμα τῇδε τῇ πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. εἰδέναι δὲ 3
χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν, ἢν δὲ ἑκούσιοι μᾶλλον δεχώμεθα, ἧσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἕξομεν, ἔκ τε
τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ μέγισται τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑπο- 4
στάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμῃ τε πλείονι ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τόλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τόν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο
καὶ ἐς τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά· ὧν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ 5
τούς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι."

145 Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νο- 1
μίσαντες ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου

σιν to πόλεις, *each for itself*. *Cf.* ii. 15. 6; iv. 108. 18; v. 29. 22. — 15. **οὐκ ἄρξομεν**: *we will not begin*, whatever they may do. The act., ἄρχειν, opposes one beginner of an action to another; the mid., ἄρχεσθαι, opposes the beginning of an action to its subsequent stages; and so ἀρχομένους implies, "if they begin the war, they will not so easily find the end of it." πολέμου ἄρχειν, bellum movere; πολέμου ἄρχεσθαι, bellum incipere. H. 816; Kühn. 421, 3. — 16. **δίκαια κτέ.**: so ii. 36. 1.

19. **ἧσσον ἐγκεισομένους ἕξομεν**: so c. 120. 9, with a formal comp. adj.; "the more courageously we accept war, the less eager will they be to attack us." — 21. **περιγίγνονται**: *result at the end*. *Cf.* περίστασθαι, c. 32. 15. — **οἱ γοῦν πατέρες**: appeal to example; *our fathers at any rate*. See on c. 2. 18. — 22. **οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι**: a litotes, which expresses nearly the same as c. 74. 21, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὁρμώμενοι. τοσῶνδε refers to the manifest signs of the power and splendour of Athens. — 23. **γνώμῃ κτέ.**: wise calculation opposed to blind chance, τύχῃ: resolute courage, τόλμῃ, to material power, δυνάμει. — 25. **ἐς τάδε**: like τοσῶνδε. *Cf.* vi. 18. 32, ἐς τάδε ἦραν αὐτά. On αὐτά here and in 27, see on c. 1. 10. — **ὧν**: see on c. 35. 15; 69. 20; 95. 21.

145. *The assembly decides to answer in accordance with the advice of Pericles.*

2. **ἄριστα**: adj., not adv. *Cf.* c. 124. 11. Often with art. *Cf.* c. 43. 11; iv. 74. 10. — **ἃ ἐκέλευε**: *sc.* ψηφίσασθαι. — 3. **τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ**: *cf.* c.

γνώμῃ καθ' ἕκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν, δίκῃ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο.

146 Αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ. ἐπεμίγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μέν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὔ· σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

90. 14; 93. 16. — **4. ὡς ἔφρασε**: belongs only to *καθ' ἕκαστα*, since *φράζειν* always implies 'to set forth details.' On the other hand, *τὸ ξύμπαν* finds its exposition in *οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν*, "that they would do nothing upon dictation." — **6. διαλύεσθαι**: only here with *περί* and gen. Usually with acc. *Cf.* c. 140. 17; v. 80. 2. — **ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ**: see on c. 27. 3.

146. *War is not formally proclaimed, but is imminent.*

1. αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται κτέ.: conclusion of the statement of the causes of the war announced in c. 23. § 5. *αὗται* is subj. to the pred. substs. *αἰτίαι* and *διαφοραί*. — **2. ἀρξάμεναι ἀπό**: to designate the point of beginning. *Cf.* vi. 99. 15; 101. 7; 103. 6. — **3. ἐπεμίγνυντο**: see on c. 2. 5. — **ἐν αὐταῖς**: *i.e. ἐν ᾧ οὕτω διεφέροντο*, while these recriminations were going on. *Cf.* c. 55. 14, *ἐν σπονδαῖς*. The partic. pres. (impf.), *τὰ γιγνόμενα*, expresses collectively these proceedings. — **4. ἀκηρύκτως**: (in ii. 1. 3, *ἀκηρυκτεί*) still without the formalities which are indispensable after war is declared. — **5. σπονδῶν ξύγχυσις**: an actual disruption of the truce, though war had not yet broken out. *Cf.* v. 26. 30.

APPENDIX.

I. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

MANUSCRIPTS.

A. Codex Cisalpinus *sive* Italus: now in Paris, parchment, of the twelfth century, with scholia by two hands.

B. Cod. Vaticanus (126): in the Vatican Library at Rome, parchment, not later than the eleventh century, with scholia by a single hand.

C. Cod. Laurentianus (69, 2): in the Laurentian Library at Florence, parchment, of the tenth century, with scholia.

D. Cod. Marcianus (367): in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, paper.

E. Cod. Palatinus: now in the Library at Heidelberg (252), parchment, of the eleventh century, with a few scholia not of ancient date.

F. Cod. Augustanus: in the Library at Munich (430), parchment, of the fourteenth century.

G. Cod. Monacensis (228, formerly 287): in the Library at Munich, paper, of the thirteenth century.

These are the Mss. used by Bekker in his second stereotyped edition of the text (1832). In his edition of 1821 he used also other Mss. than these; a complete list is given in his first volume. A list and description of the Mss. of Thucydides is given in the edition of Arnold; a list and classification of them, easy to consult, in the smaller edition of Poppo.

The best of the Mss. of Thucydides, in the opinion of Bekker, is Vaticanus. This Ms. is evidently not derived from a single source. As far as vi. 94 it agrees with the other Mss. of the better sort so closely as to show that it belongs to the same recension; in the remainder of the history its variation from them in many places is so great as to prove that this part of it must have been made from a different copy. Here, frequently, it alone furnishes the true reading. Of the remaining Mss., Laurentianus and Monacensis agree with one another most nearly.

The best of the Mss. of Thucydides are not free from errors. No single Ms. is sufficient to serve as a basis for the text. Bekker expressed his judgment of the general inferior character of the Mss. of Thucydides in the preface to his text edition, published at Oxford in 1824, as follows:

"Quorum qui optimi sunt et antiquissimi, Cisalpinus, Vaticanus, Laurentianus, Palatinus, Augustanus, longe absunt ab ea praestantia qua excellunt inter Isocrateos Urbinas, inter Platonicos et Demosthenicos Parisienus A et S."

EDITIONS.

COMPLETE EDITIONS.

Aldus: Venice, 1502, folio. The Editio Princeps, a beautiful book of 124 unnumbered leaves, and one leaf with the anchor. Aldus published the scholia in 1503.

Junta: Florence, 1526, folio, with the scholia. The reputed Juntine edition of 1506 is a myth.

Camerarius: Basle, 1540, folio, with the scholia and notes.

H. Stephanus: Paris, 1564 (1588), folio, Greek and Latin, with the scholia. The Latin version is Valla's, which was made in 1452 and has the value of a Ms., having been made from a Ms. which has been lost. The second edition of Stephanus is the source of the vulgate, and was followed by the editors of Thucydides to the time of Bekker.

Hudson: Oxford, 1696, folio, Greek and Latin, with the scholia. The Latin version is Portus's, corrected by the editor.

Wasse and Duker: Amsterdam, 1731, 3 vols., folio, Greek and Latin, with the notes entire of Stephanus and Hudson. This edition was reprinted at Glasgow in 1758, in 8 vols., octavo.

Immanuel Bekker: Oxford, 1821, 4 vols. With the scholia, the Latin notes of Duker and Wasse, and Duker's Latin version. An edition of great critical value.

Immanuel Bekker: Edit. ster. altera. Berlin, 1832 (1846, 1868).

Ern. Frid. Poppo: Leipzig, 1821–40, 4 parts, 11 vols. Part 1 contains the *prolegomena;* part 2, the *contextus verborum cum scholiis et scripturae discrepantiis;* part 3, the *commentarii;* part 4, the *supplementa et indices.* A thesaurus of learning.

Ern. Frid. Poppo: Edit. I., 1843–51, Edit. II. and III., Leipzig, 1875–85, 4 vols., with notes written in Latin. Revised by J. M. Stahl, with the exception of Book II., which has not yet been published under Stahl's revision.

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II. CRITICAL NOTES.

1. 5. ἦσαν ἐς αὐτόν. Most Mss. have ἦσαν. But (1) Thuc. uses a periphrasis of εἶναι and a partic. only when the finite verb precedes with emphasis: i. 99. 5; ii. 12. 6; 80. 15; iii. 3. 1; viii. 69. 10. The case is different when the partic. has sunk to a mere adj. as ἀρίστων in i. 38. 8; v. 41. 23, which cannot be shown of ἀκμάζων. In ii. 67. 9 and ii. 10. 8, ἦν is the verb of existence; in iii. 2. 8 the pf. partic. should prob. be read. On this whole question, see Alexander, Am. J. of Ph. IV. p. 291 ff. (2) If ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν were = ἤκμαζον, ἐς αὐτόν could hardly have been used; for the verb expresses no such feeling for a thing, as is the case in ii. 8. 1; iv. 55. 19, ἀτολμότεροι ἐς τὰς μάχας. For the form ἦσαν, rather than ἦισαν or ἧσσαν, *cf.* Ar. *Eq.* 605; *id.* frg. 216 Dind.; and see Stahl, *Qu. Gram.* p. 19; G. Meyer, *Gr.* § 482; Curtius, *Verbum*, I.[1] p. 128; Cobet, *V. L.* p. 32.

1. 9. καὶ μέρει τινὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων. J. Steup, *Quaest. Thuc.* p. 17, 18, regards these words as a gloss, since it cannot be admitted that the Peloponnesian War proved the μεγίστη κίνησις for either the barbarians or for the greatest part of mankind. But why should a "glossator" either make this assertion? No doubt the writer intended merely to indicate that this war was especially distinguished by the fact that its effects reached far beyond the limits of Hellas, without insisting on the actual degree of μεγίστη. We may therefore, notwithstanding Steup's objections, understand βάρβαροι of the Thracians, Macedonians, Sicels, *etc.*

1. 10. τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα. U. Köhler, in his treatise, *Ueber die Archäologie des Thukydides*, argues that the distinction implied in these words corresponds to the division of historical materials into what is legendary and what is preserved in written records; and that Thuc. availed himself for the former of the Homeric poems, the writings of Hellanicus and some cyclic poem; for the latter, of the chronicle of some logographer and Herodotus. This is not impossible, but can hardly be proved from our evidence.

1. 12. ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν κτέ. The translation given implies that ὧν is governed by the continued force of ἐκ (*cf.* c. 21. 1) as in c. 28. 6, οἷς by παρά. See Kühn. 451, 4; Kr. *Spr.* 51, 11, 1. So Sh. But Cl. thinks it depends on πιστεῦσαι, as being assimilated from οἷς (see Kr. *Spr.* 51, 10, 3; Kühn. 555, note 4); while B., P., and Kr. take it with σκοποῦντι, as being assimilated from ἅ. But πιστεῦσαι may be used absolutely, as in c. 21. 4; v. 20. 8; Soph. *El.* 884. Cobet followed by v. H. reads ἂν for ὧν, bracketing the following νοίζωμ.

2. 21. διὰ τὰς μετοικήσεις τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι. The Mss. all read διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, which is found in the editions of Bekker, Krüger, Arnold, and Schöne. Two explanations of it are given by the Schol.

(1) Supplying τὴν Ἀττικήν as subj. of αὐξηθῆναι, with this meaning: "the fact that *Attica* did not grow in other respects (ἐς τὰ ἄλλα), such as wealth, military resources, *etc.*, so fast as in population, is a proof that it could not have been subject to frequent changes of inhabitants." (2) Supplying τὴν Ἑλλάδα as subj. of αὐξηθῆναι, with this meaning: "the fact that *Greece* in regard to other parts of it (ἐς τὰ ἄλλα) did not increase equally with Attica in population is a proof that the best lands must have been subject to frequent changes of inhabitants." The latter is the interpretation usually adopted by those who maintain the Mss. reading; and the same meaning is obtained by bracketing ἐς, and thus making τὰ ἄλλα (= "the other parts of Greece") subj. of αὐξηθῆναι. This is done by Goeller and P., and considered not improbable by v. H. G. Hermann, Philol. 1, p. 368, by way of accounting for the intrusion of ἐς, proposes διὰ τὰς ἐσοικίας τὰ ἄλλα. But the recent editors, St., B., v. H., and Cl. have adopted the reading of the text, which was suggested by Ullrich, *Beitr.* p. 169 ff. B. claims to have made this conjecture independently. The word μετοίκησις occurs in Plat. *Apol.* 40 c; *Phaed.* 117 c; *Legg.* 850 a.

3. 3. δοκεῖ δέ μοι κτέ. To get rid of the irregularity indicated in the note, v. H. reads after Reiske ἔχειν for εἶχεν. He says: "EXEN antiqua literatura significabat utrumque." Kr., Sh., and B. refer to iv. 62. 4 ff.; but there also v. H. reads the acc. with inf. for the nom. with opt.

3. 22. ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν . . . ξυνεξῆλθον. All Mss. have ξυνῆλθον, the Schol. remarking δεῖ δὲ προσθεῖναι τὴν εἰς. But no other example of such a const. can be found; and the acc. is not justified by c. 15. 9, or Aeschin. II. 168, where the acc. represents the cognate ἔξοδον. In viii. 61. 8 the best Mss. have ξυνῆλθε, though ξυνεξῆλθε is undoubtedly right; and in iii. 113. 5 ξυνεξῆσαν is in many corrupted into ξυνῆσαν, as has been pointed out by Ullrich; and accordingly Cl. introduced ξυνεξῆλθον here (one Ms. has ἐξῆλθον), and Cobet independently made the same suggestion. See *V. L.* p. 428, where the const. is fully illustrated. St. and v. H. adopt this emendation, but B. defends the old reading. See also Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 290.

5. 11. ἔτι καὶ νῦν. The punctuation of the text, by which these words are thrown into the rel. clause, although placed before the pron., is adopted by Cl. from J. Steup, *Qu. Thuc.* p. 28, with reference to ii. 46. 6; iii. 39. 5; vi. 31. § 1, for assumed similar trajections. But the propriety of it seems very questionable, and is certainly not established by the passages cited by Cl.

7. 9. ἀνῳκισμέναι εἰσί. This reading has been adopted by Cl. instead of the Mss. ἀνῳκισμένοι on the ground that the connexion between the pf. here and the historical aor. ᾠκίσθησαν in 1 is so close that they must needs have the same subject, αἱ πόλεις, and that the change to the masc. may have been caused by the parenthetical words ἔφερον γὰρ . . . ᾤκουν. He has been followed by v. H., but not by B. nor by St., who argues against the change in Jahrbb. 1863, p. 407.

9. 20. καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα. τε is omitted by Kr., v. H., and B. St. reads

δέ. Sh. renders τε 'too.' See Sauppe, *Ep. crit. ad Herm.* p. 87, and Herbst, Philol. 24, p. 719 f.

10. 18. στρατείαν. This reading, for στρατιάν, is to be maintained even against the authority of the majority of the Mss. It is hardly conceivable that Thuc. should have varied his expression in his closely connected consideration in these first chapters of the events of the Trojan War. *Cf.* c. 3. 22; 9. 21 and 29. In the present passage the signification of 'army,' 'force,' is admissible; but still here also, as in the other passages, the preponderating idea is that of 'expedition,' 'military undertaking.'

11. 4. ἐπαδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι. After τόν τε στρατόν we might expect to find καὶ ἐπαδὴ or ἐπαδή τε, the latter of which Bekk. adopted. But the deviation found in all Mss., from the usual sequence, is justified by the opposition (Kühn. 520, note 3) between the two members (departure and arrival), and is also supported by the fact that the resumptive (apodotic) δέ (Kühn. 533, 1) with φαίνονται, 6, after the parenthesis, renders the occurrence of a δέ in the protasis highly probable. *Cf.* c. 18. 1, 11; v. 16. 1, 6. (Here, however, St. reads τότε δή, for "in apodosi ubique est τότε δή.") Thuc. appears to have used this δέ where there is no δέ in the protasis, only with an art. (ii. 46. 6; 65. 19; iii. 98. 2) or a dem. pron. (c. 37. 21).

12. 2. ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξηθῆναι. Kr., v. H., and Sh. read ἡσυχάσασα with inferior Mss. But the acc. renders the clause less dependent on what precedes. *Cf.* iv. 84. 7; vi. 4. 12; vii. 34. 23.

12. 4. ὡς ἐπὶ πολύ. Here, as in vi. 46. 21, the best Mss. have this reading, whereas in ii. 13. 23 and v. 107. 3 all have ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. The latter reading is adopted here also by P., Kr., St., B., v. H., and Sh. Cl. regards the expression as local here, *far and wide*, and refers for confirmation of this sense to ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον in c. 82. 20; ii. 34. 24; v. 46. 9. But in his notes on the first and last of these passages he says the words have a temporal meaning; and in the other the addition of a gen. precludes all ambiguity.

13, 14. Köhler, *Ueber die Archäologie des Thuk.*, p. 5 ff., has examined with great care the question as to the sources of information made use of by Thuc. in the account he has given of the growth of Greek naval power, and concludes that for the Corinthian marine (c. 13. 6–24) he depended partly on tradition (λέγονται, 7), partly on some chronological record; while for the following notices about the Ionians, the Sicilian tyrants, the Corcyraeans, the Aeginetans, the Athenians before the Persian wars, Herodotus was his chief authority. *Cf.* Hdt. iii. 39, 94; i. 163; vii. 158, 168; v. 82 ff.; vi. 87 ff.; vii. 114.

13. 30. Φωκαῆς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες. It is natural that the victories of the Phocaeans over the Carthaginians here spoken of as coincident with the founding of Massalia, should have been identified with the *Cadmean victory* gained off Sardinia by the Phocaeans over the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, which Herodotus, i. 166, reports as having taken place after Phocaea had been reduced by Harpagus, *cir.* B.C. 540, Ol. 60. But all our evidence shows that the two events can have had no connexion.

See on the founding of Massalia (B.C. 600, Ol. 45), Dederich in Rhein. Mus. 1836, p. 99–125. It is true that Isocrates, VI. 84, and later writers who follow him, attribute the founding of Massalia to the Phocaeans who left their homes to escape subjection to the Persians; but Harpocration, *s.v.* **Μασσαλία**, quotes Aristotle, **ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν πολιτείᾳ**, as asserting **ὅτι πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἤδη ὑπὸ Φωκαέων ᾠκιστο ἡ Μασσαλία.**

Chr. Röse in an article in Jahrbb., 1877, p. 257 ff., entitled *Ein Emblem im Thukydides*, has attempted to show that the words **Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες** must be an interpolation, seeing that "the new settlers at their first arrival not only had no naval battle to fight, but were received with all friendliness." It is evident that Aristotle had examined with special interest the accounts of the rise of this commonwealth. The pleasing story he tells (*ap.* Athen. 13, 576; Arist. p. 1561) of the origin of the Massalian family Protiadae, from the marriage of Petta, daughter of the native prince Nanus, with the Phocaean Euxenus, is repeated with further embellishments by Trogus Pompeius (Justin, 43, 3–5); and Aristotle's words, **Φωκαεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι ἔκτισαν Μασσαλίαν**, imply, as Röse, p. 264, points out, that the foundation of Massalia was due, not to the pressure of the Persians, but to the active commercial spirit of the Phocaeans. But Röse is not justified in inferring that, because the settlement was favoured by the native princes, therefore it had nothing to fear from commercial rivals like the Carthaginians. We have ample evidence, not indeed from Aristotle, but from other witnesses who drew either from him or from a common source, that the Massalians had for a long time to contend against the jealousy of other maritime states, particularly the Carthaginians. Strabo, iv. 1. 5, records, probably from his personal observation, that **ἀνάκειται ἐν πόλει συχνὰ τῶν ἀκροθινίων, ἃ ἔλαβον καταναυμαχοῦντες ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τῆς θαλάττης ἀδίκως**, and Pausanias, x. 8. 6, though, like Isocrates, he is mistaken as to the dates, affirms that **οἱ Μασσαλιῶται Φωκαέων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, μοῖρα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ποτε Ἅρπαγον τὸν Μήδου φυγόντων ἐκ Φωκαίας· γενόμενοι δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπικρατέστεροι Καρχηδονίων τήν τε γῆν ἣν ἔχουσιν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφίκοντο εὐδαιμονίας.** So also Trogus Pompeius mentions (Justin, 43, 3–5) among the wars which the recently-founded Massalia had to wage with unfriendly neighbours, that Carthaginiensium quoque exercitus, cum bellum captis piscatorum navibus ortum esset, saepe fuderunt. If this is somewhat overdrawn, there is no ground for Röse's assumption that the reference is to comparatively late events and struggles with merely piratical vessels.

With the state of things thus disclosed, the statement of Thuc. is in complete harmony, if only we do not confine it to a single engagement, but understand it of repeated conflicts of the Phocaeans with the Carthaginians till they had thoroughly established themselves on Gallic soil. The date, however, of the founding of Massalia needs further examination, notwithstanding the consentient testimony which places it in Ol. 45. 3, B.C. 598, of Scymnus

of Chios (210 ff., ἐν τῇ Διγυστικῇ δὲ ταύτην [τὴν Μασσαλίαν] ἔκτισαν | [οἱ Φωκαεῖς] πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένης | ἔτεσιν πρότερον, ὡς φασιν, ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν· | Τίμαιος οὕτως ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν); of Solinus, ii. 52 (Phocenses [*sic*] quondam fugati Persarum adventu [!] Massiliam urbem Olympiade quadragesima quinta condiderunt); and of Eusebius, *Chron.* p. 124. What precise notion are we to attach to the words, ἔκτισαν, condiderunt? In view of Aristotle's expression, ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι, we cannot suppose that they refer to the first establishment of commercial relations, which must no doubt have existed much earlier; for the Phocaeans (Hdt. i. 163. 2), ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο . . . ἐναυτόλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι.

P. Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), p. 237 ff., bases upon a Phoenician inscription discovered at Marseilles in June, 1845, and upon the derivation of the name Massalia from the Shemitic word for *dwelling, settlement*, the conjecture that a Phoenician colony existed in that region before the coming of the Phocaeans. If this were established, we should have to assume that the κτίσις τῆς Μασσαλίας was preceded by the expulsion of the Phoenician colony. This would no doubt have been resisted by the Carthaginians; and the engagements mentioned by Thucydides, Strabo, Pausanias, and Justin would be naturally referred to these struggles. But the whole question needs further investigation, even after Müllenhoff's *Untersuchungen über die früheste Geschichte von Massilia* in the *Deutsche Alterthumsk.*, 1, p. 177 ff.

15. 3. οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς. There is much difference of opinion among the authorities as to the employment of σ or σσ before a consonant. Eustath. on Hom. *Il.* p. 880, 10, is in favour of σ, and on the same side with more or less decisiveness are G. Hermann, W. Dindorf, Schäfer, and Lobeck; while σσ is supported by Etymol. Mag. p. 700, 18, and by Bekker and Kr. In this diversity of view it seems wiser to avoid ambiguity by employing σσ here and in v. 71. 5, προσστέλλειν. Cobet, *N. L.* p. 326, proposes to read προῦχοντες here; but this is wholly wrong; since Thuc. is speaking of the few states which gave attention to naval matters, and not at all of the most powerful among them.

15. 14. Ἐρετριῶν. In this and similar names, *e.g.* Δωριῶν, c. 18. 5; Θεσπιῶν, iv. 133. 1; vi. 95. 6, the Mss. vary between the contracted and the open form. Since, however, Πλαταιῶν is found constantly, it is probably right to read uniformly the contracted form. St., B., and Schöne, however, print Ἐρετριέων. Cobet, *ad Hyperidem*, p. 43 ff., maintains that the contracted forms only are Attic, and v. H. follows him, notwithstanding the remarks of Wecklein, *Curae epigraphicae*, p. 19. See also Kühn. 128, note 1.

17. 6. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. These words are evidently out of place where they stand. The Schol. indeed supposes an ellipsis: οὐ λέγω περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ· οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κτέ. This, however, is not satisfactory; and Wex thinks the words should be placed after τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ in c. 18. 3. Cl. thinks they are a marginal note,

made by some observant reader, which was afterwards introduced into the text in the wrong place.

18. 12. ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη. Cobet, *V. L.* p. 201; *N. L.* p. 95, maintains that Μαραθῶνι, Ῥαμνοῦντι, Σικυῶνι are local adverbs as much as Σφηττοῖ, Ἰσθμοῖ, οἴκοι, Πυθοῖ, Ἀθήνησι, Ὀλυμπίασι, *etc.*, and that therefore the prep. should be dropped without regard to the authority of Mss., even the best of which sometimes insert it even where the metre repudiates it; as in Ar. *Eq.* 781, σὲ γάρ, ὃς Μήδοισι διεξιφίσω περὶ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι, where the Ravenna Ms. has ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Here only v. H. omits the prep. In c. 73. 19, all Mss. omit it. See Kühn. 426, 1.

18. 19. καὶ ἐς ναῦς ἐσβάντες. Here most Mss. give ἐμβάντες. But recent editors generally read ἐσβάντες, this being the form which has great preponderance of authority in c. 73. 21; 74. 15, 26; 91. 23; 93. 25; 143. 4; ii. 67. 19; 94. 9; iii. 16. 6; 80. 4; 81. 10; iv. 25. 16; 100. 22; vii. 13. 10; 40. 11; 60. 20; 72. 15; viii. 94. 15; 96. 6.

19. 2. κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες. v. H. follows Cobet in bracketing αὐτοῖς, since this is a case where the so-called indirect reflexive is required. The thought of the Lacedaemonians would be θεραπεύομεν ὅπως ἡμῖν μόνον ἐπιτηδείως πολιτεύσουσι, not ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.

19. 6. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν. Herbst, Philol. 38, p. 535, agrees with Cl. in understanding after Grote αὐτοῖς of both Athenians and Lacedaemonians, as in c. i. 5, they are spoken of together as ἀμφότεροι. He thinks, however, that Grote and Cl. are wrong in comparing ἡ ἰδία παρασκευή, the warlike power of each of the two states as it was at the outbreak of the war, with the united power of both together as it existed during the short period of the ὁμαιχμία. Thuc. has said nothing to justify this extravagant statement. He has just told us, c. 18. 29 ff., how each of the two leading states had in its own way dealt with its allies so as to concentrate in its own hands all the force of its confederates; and that thus the centralized power of each alliance ("die eigne Hausmacht") was greater at the opening of the war than the largest power either had separately possessed before in connexion with its still undamaged συμμαχία. This is the thought of c. 1. 5. The thought assigned by Grote and Cl. stands outside the sphere of the discussion. Besides, Herbst thinks that, if τὰ κράτιστα ἤνθησαν referred to the period of the ὁμαιχμία, Thuc. would have written ἀκραιφνεῖ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ.

21. 4. ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν. The word λογογράφοι occurs here only in Thuc. He uses it in opposition to ποιηταί, evidently understanding by λόγος or λόγοι the expression in simple prose of any narrative whatever in opposition to ἔπη, which denotes a similar account in metrical form. We are, therefore, to consider that to Thuc. λογογράφοι means prose writers, and not a special class of historians of a particular type. It is, however, true that at this time hardly any other prose writing could have occurred to him than

that on historical subjects, which is often designated by Hdt., and occasionally by Thuc. himself (i. 97. 8), λόγος or λόγοι. See on this subject G. Curtius, *Ber. der Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1866, p. 142 ff.

22. 10. καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. The prep. περί is substituted for παρά of the Mss. by the conjecture of Linwood, Jahrbb. 8, p. 197. The partic. ἐπεξελθών, *having thoroughly examined*, has its twofold obj. in οἷς τε . . . τῶν ἄλλων; and as οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν is undoubtedly neut., so τῶν ἄλλων must be; and if so, περί must be right. To περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ἑκάστου is added, in close connexion with ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ, by way of explanatory appos. If παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων is retained (in dependence on πυνθανόμενος implied in ἐπεξελθών), as it is by most recent editors, or if with Ullrich we read τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, it would seem that some explanation should be offered of the presence of the art.

25. 4. καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ . . . ποιεῖσθαι. v. H. adopts Cobet's conjecture πορίζεσθαι, which Cl. rejects. The use of ποιεῖσθαι with an abstract noun to form an expression equiv. to the corresponding verb is so common, that it is hardly likely that Thuc. would have employed ποιεῖσθαι here in connexion with such a noun in the sense of 'create for one's self.' As Cl. himself notes, we have these words used in their customary sense in c. 124. 4, and ποιεῖσθαι also is used normally with concrete nouns, ἡγεμόνας in c. 25. 6; φόλους in c. 28. 11. If ποιεῖσθαι is retained, we must explain τιμωρίαν as = τιμωρούς. Professor Gildersleeve suggests περιποιεῖσθαι.

25. 17. καὶ ἐν χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες. The reading καὶ ἐν or κἀν is due to Hünnekes, for καί of Mss., which is retained by St., v. H., and P. St., Jahrbb. 1863, p. 465, reads ὁμοίᾳ, taking ὄντες δυνατώτεροι (*sc.* τῶν Κορινθίων) with both clauses of the sentence: "since they were more powerful than they, not only in the potency of their wealth, which was at that time on a par with that of the richest of the Greeks, but also in their equipment for war." But the position of ὄντες makes the structure very intricate, and there seems no special force in χρημάτων δυνάμει for χρήμασιν.

26. 16. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι κτέ. The correct interpretation of this passage depends on the assumption insisted upon by Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 272, that the words in 11, καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρᾳ στολῇ, are inserted there by anticipation out of their proper chronological place. Accordingly in οὐδὲν ὑπήκουσαν the aor. is to be rendered as plpf., as ἔπεμψαν in 15; and the expression has respect to the demand made by the Corcyraeans in the 25 ships first sent, 10. See note 81 in Introd. For insertions somewhat similar, *cf.* c. 102. 11; ii. 4. 20; iii. 68. 9. A later hand in the Vat. Ms. expresses the sense thus: ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, στρατεύουσιν κτέ.

28. 12. ὠφελίας ἕνεκα. v. H. reads ὠφελείας here and always, though against the Mss., insisting that the form with the diphthong alone has trustworthy authority, and is alone supported by metrical use. But in Eur. *Androm.* 539, τοῖς γὰρ ἐμοῖσιν γέγον' ὠφελία, the simple vowel seems certain. *Cf.* also Ar. *Eccl.* 576.

28. 18. ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι κτέ. The explanation given in the note is in the main that of Kr. Others, as B., St., and Sh., make the two following infs. depend upon ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν (*cf.* viii. 9. 4), with ὥστε pleonastic; for which, see Kühn. 473, note 9. But, as Herbst remarks, Philol. 1866, p. 671, with this construction we have no expression of what the Corcyraeans assent to in their alternative proposition, viz. δικάζεσθαι. Kr. regards ποιήσασθαι as depending, like ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι, on ἔλεγον (now = ἐκέλευον) implied in ἀντέλεγον, and not on ὥστε. But it is simpler to join it to ὥστε as a second member having a common subj. with μένειν.

29. 18. ἀναναγαγόμενοι. All Mss. have the pres. partic. But here, as well as in c. 52. 1; ii. 33. 14; 92. 15; viii. 80. 3; 95. 24, the aor. seems necessary, though in these passages the best Mss. have the pres. In the second and last, indeed, Bekk. and Kr. also read the aor. In this passage Kr. explains the pres. by supposing that the meaning of ἀνάγεσθαι extends not merely to the getting under way, but continues past the παράταξις into the battle itself. But if we examine viii. 19. 13; 23. 6; 61. 15, where nearly all Mss. and editions concur in the aor., and i. 117. 4; 137. 8; ii. 90. 13; iii. 3. 23, where the correct use of the pres. is seen, little doubt will remain as to the proper reading in this place.

30. 13. περιόντι τῷ θέρει. Most Mss. have περιόντι, which Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Kr.* III. p. 5, explains as = ἐν τῷ περιόντι τοῦ θέρους, *in what remained of the summer*. So B. But the pred. position of the partic. seems to forbid this interpretation; and it is doubtful whether this partic. can, like the adj. λοιπός, be used of a part of a whole. The partic. of περιεῖναι, however, seems to have been in established use to express the notion of a recognized period (in this case the θέρος) reaching its limit. *Cf.* Hdt. ii. 121. 19; iv. 155. 3; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 25; Arist. *Hist. An.* vi. 14. 3 (p. 568, a, 13); Plut. *Ages.* 14. 1. *Cf.* also the use of τελευτῶν. When we consider the liability to confusion of forms so nearly alike, we shall not be inclined to lay great stress on Ms. authority. v. H., indeed, thinks that the Mss. which have περιόντι intend really the partic. of περιεῖναι, "ut interdum pro illo dixerunt comici, et περιεῖναι pro περιεῖναι. De περιόντι a verbo περιεῖναι ducto cogitari nequit." It is impossible to make out with certainty the precise times at which the events recorded in c. 24–62 occurred. As Krüger points out, *Stud.* I. p. 218, the most definite statement we have is that in ii. 2. 7: viz. that the battle at Potidaea, i. 62, occurred in the sixth month before the Theban attack on Plataea. If this is fixed at April, 431, we can work backward with more or less assurance to the events recorded in these chapters. The following scheme is offered merely as a possible approximation to the actual dates. It is assumed here that the θέρος spoken of in c. 30. 13, 19 is the summer immediately succeeding the battle of Leucimme; and that the χειμών of c. 30. 20 is the immediately succeeding winter. But Grote, changing his former view in deference to the opinion of Mr. Scott, thinks that the battle of Leucimme took place in the summer of B.C. 435; that τὸ θέρος τοῦτο, c. 30. 19, is the

summer of that year; but that the χειμών is the winter of the succeeding year, *i.e.* of B.C. 434.

		Ol.	B.C.	
c. 24. 12	Epidamnian troubles	86. 1	436	Oct.
c. 24. 16	Fruitless embassy to Corcyra	86. 2	435	July.
c. 25. 6	Epidamnian appeal to Corinth	86. 2	435	Nov.
c. 26. 1	Corinth accepts	86. 2	435	Dec.
c. 26. 23	Corcyra besieges Epidamnus	86. 2	434	Feb.
c. 29. 4	Battle of Leucimme	86. 2	434	Apr.
c. 30. 6	Corcyraeans masters at sea	86. 3	434	Oct.
c. 30. 13	Corinthian force at Cheimerium	86. 3	434	Nov.
c. 31. 1	Corinthian preparations		434–3	
c. 31. 9, 12	Mission of both parties to Athens	86. 4	432	Feb.
c. 48	Battle of Sybota	86. 4	432	Apr.
c. 56. 1	Beginning of troubles with Potidaea	86. 4	432	May.
c. 58. 10	Revolt of Potidaea	87. 1	432	July.
c. 60. 10	Arrival of Aristeus	87. 1	432	Aug.
c. 62	Battle of Potidaea	87. 1	432	End of Sept.
ii. 2. 7	Attack on Plataea	87. 1	431	Apr.

33. 16. τὸν πόλεμον δι' ὅπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴημεν. Most and best Mss. have διότερ or δι' ὅπερ. It is not impossible that the latter may be the true reading, *in reference to which state of things;* since Thuc. is fond of employing ὅπερ thus in parenthetical clauses, without regard to nouns which might serve as antec. to it. *Cf.* c. 35. 20; 50. 24; 59. 6; 71. 8; 73. 22; 74. 8; 80. 3. Upon the third passage, Suidas, *s.v.* Θουκυδίδης, remarks: ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος μεταβαίνει ἀπὸ τῶν θηλυκῶν εἰς οὐδέτερα, οἷον· τρέπονται εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον.

34. 2. μαθέτωσαν. St., B., and v. H. read μαθόντων. Cobet, *N. L.* p. 328, maintains that imv. forms in -τωσαν did not come into use till the time of Menander, and that all places where they occur in earlier writers ought to be emended. At any rate, this word cannot be called as Cl. terms it, the *ältere und feierliche Form für* μαθόντων. No such form occurs in Hom. See Curtius, *Verbum*, II. p. 50; Kühn. 209, 10; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* § 575.

35. 4. καὶ δεινὸν . . . ἃ δεόμεθα. It is to be noticed that, in both the members of this sent., that clause is placed last which was most calculated to excite the indignation of the Athenians; in the former ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ξυμμάχων, in the latter πεισθέντων ὑμῶν. Kr., thinking that the sense forbade a full stop at δεόμεθα, placed the point at ὠφελίας, changed εἶτα to εἴτε, and πολὺ δέ to πολὺ δή. In this he is followed by v. H., and as to the second point by St. See Jahrbb. 1863, p. 467. But this change does not add to the force of the passage. There is no real incompatibility between the supposition in εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας εἴρξουσι and that implied in πεισθέντων ὑμῶν. For the Corcyraeans might be aided by the Athenians without being formally

received into the Athenian alliance; and it is the assumed opposition of the Corinthians to the former modest request that the Corcyraeans represent, by the emphatic εἶτα, as the height of arrogance. In 16 also the mere sending of aid (καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν ὠφελίαν) is represented as a slighter matter than admission to the alliance (ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν).

37. 2. ἀλλ' ὡς καί. L. Herbst (Philol. 1866, p. 660) accounts for the unusual order of these words on the ground that "Thucydides abridged the fuller expression which he would naturally have used, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, and, passing by the persons who in his mind stood opposed to each other, set in opposition the facts of their relation to one another; he thus expressed himself less fully and clearly than he might have done, but still in a manner that is perfectly apprehensible." Herbst concludes from this that ἀμφοτέρων is masc. ("about us both"), not neut. This is confirmed, he thinks, not only by ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε and τῶν δέ, that immediately follow, but also by the first words of c. 40. But in fact throughout c. 37–39 the discussion is not περὶ ἡμῶν τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, the parties opposed to one another, but the whole effort of the Corinthians is to overthrow the proposition, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, and the sequel of their argument, found at the beginning of c. 40, is, ὡς αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἵδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσί.

37. 10. οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. St. discusses this passage at length in Jahrbb. 1863, p. 469. He would omit the words οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι and connect ξύμμαχόν τε κτέ. with καὶ ἡ πόλις ἅμα. Nattmann, in the Program of the Gymnasium at Emmerich for 1861, proposes παρανομοῦντες for παρακαλοῦντες.

37. 17. καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι κτέ. The Vatican Ms. and several others have the verbs, βιάζονται, ἔχουσι, ἀναισχυντοῦσι instead of the subjvs. It is not impossible that this is right, and that the second ὅπως, which St. and Cobet bracket (the latter, *V. L.* p. 430, says that the following clauses form an epexegesis "quae ὅπως respuit"), has been accidentally repeated. Then the clauses ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀναισχυντοῦσι will describe the actual carrying into effect of what has just been described as the motive of the Corcyraean isolation.

38. 9. οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς. This reading, which is due to Ullrich, is adopted by St., B., and v. H. for that of all Mss., ἐπιστρατεύομεν. The latter can be explained only as a statement of their general practice, "we are not in the habit of attacking," which does not suit the connexion nor the particle οὐδέ. μὴ ἀδικούμενοι must be resolved into εἰ μὴ ἠδικούμεθα. The Corinthians concede the unusual character of their proceedings, in making war on a colony, but justify themselves on the ground that they are the aggrieved party.

39. 15. πάλαι δὲ κοινωνήσαντας κτέ. Cl. retains κοινωνήσαντας, *having been partners in*, which is given by the Vat. and several other Mss., while all

other recent editors, including Bekker, give κοινώσαντας, *having imparted*, though less well attested. The Mss. which have κοινώσαντας add after ἔχειν the words: ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων [al. μόνον] ἀμετόχους [al. ἀμετόχως] οὕτω τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν. This has been rejected or bracketed, as a gloss or an illustrative quotation from some other writer, by all recent editors except Kr. Cl. thinks that out of οὗς, 10, which refers to the Corcyraeans, we must here supply a subj. including both them and the Athenians, ἐκείνους τε καὶ ὑμᾶς, the latter being suggested by the intervening clauses, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ . . . ἕξετε; and that, since κοινωνεῖν is properly κοινὸν ἔχειν, the acc. δύναμιν may be justified as a substitute for the regular gen. He thinks, further, that when this extension of the subj. ceased to be observed, the change was made to κοινώσαντας, and that then, since the notion of *imparting* seemed more appropriate to the side to which appeal for help was made, it was arbitrarily assumed that ὑμᾶς (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους) was the subj., and that then, to make this more intelligible, the gloss above quoted was added. In Jahrbb. 1863, p. 403, St. expressed his approbation of Cl.'s defence of κοινωνήσαντες, but in his own (B. Tauchnitz's) edition he reads κοινώσαντας.

40. 7. ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει. Some editors, as Sh., Arnold, and Jowett, consider that the words εἰ σωφρονοῦσι are the condition to the preceding τοῖς δεξαμένοις, making, as Sh. says, "a confusion of thought amounting almost to a *bull*." Jowett renders "who will bring war instead of peace to those who receive him, or rather, if they are wise, will not receive him on such terms," thus agreeing with Arnold, who says, "the words εἰ σωφρονοῦσι have really nothing to do with the sentence as it is actually expressed, but rather with another sentence which is suggested, as it were, parenthetically, to the writer's mind." The phrase εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, or what is equivalent to it, is frequent in Thuc., *e.g.* iv. 60. 2; 61. 1, and nowhere else is used with any such artificial subtlety. The explanation in the note, by which the condition is assumed to apply to the conduct of the parties after the alliance is made, is substantially that of Cl., Kr., and B., and apparently also of v. H., who, however, reads καὶ σωφρονοῦσι (partic.) = etiam moderatis, and gives a meaning which does not deserve to be described by Jowett as "pointless and contrary to the general context." Ullrich, *Beitr. z. Kr.* p. 29 ff., thinking that the condition applies to τοῖς δεξαμένοις, proposes to read εἰ μὴ σωφρονοῦσι.

46. 10. ἔστι δὲ λιμήν. It is plain from the position, that these words refer to χειμέριον, which the expression ὁρμίζονται ἐς, 9, also shows to have been the name of a harbour, as we see in 16 it was also the name of a headland. The description places the harbour not far below the city Ephyra and near the mouth of the Acheron river. Kiepert, in his map of this coast, recognizes only the headland, which he places considerably to the north of the Acheron, not far south of Sybota, apparently understanding ὧν ἐντός, 16, to mean approximately the middle point between the Thyamis and the Acheron. But there is nothing to forbid our marking the headland much

nearer the Acheron. The name Sybota also is applied to the islands, c. 47. 5, and to a harbour, c. 50. 15.

49. 16. μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοί. Cobet insists strenuously that οἱ στρατηγοί should be bracketed, as a gloss due to some copyist who did not perceive that δεδιότες is to be referred acc. to sense, to αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες in 13. *Cf.* τριήρεις . . . οὐκ εἰδότες, c. 110. 10; διώκοντες . . . αἱ μέν τινες . . . δρῶντες . . . βουλόμενοι, ii. 91. 16; πέμπει . . . μέρος τι . . . προλοχιοῦντας, iii. 110. 6.

51. 12. καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου. In an inscription, C. I. A. I. 179 (Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 41), we have portions of the decrees which authorized the payment of money to the commanders of the two Attic fleets which took part in the Corcyraean affair. The names given by Thuc., c. 45. 5, answer to those on the marble; but the inscr. gives Glaucon, Dracontides, and a third name conjecturally restored as Metagenes, for which names Thuc., c. 51. 12, has Γλαύκων ὁ Λεάγρου and Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου. It seems certain that Andocides the orator cannot have taken part in this expedition, since it has been shown by Kirchhoff, Hermes, 1866, p. 600, that he cannot have been born much earlier than B.C. 440, and we know of no other Andocides who can be referred to.

Accordingly, Müller-Strübing, to whom the above restoration is due, conjectures, *Aristoph.* p. 602, that Thuc. really wrote Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Δρακοντίδης ὁ Λυσικλέους (a Lysicles, son of Dracontides, occurring in an Inscr. of B.C. 415); and that one scribe repeated by mistake Λεάγρου, instead of writing Λυσικλέους; that his successor, offended at the repetition of the name, altered it to Λεωγόρου; and that a third substituted for the unfamiliar Dracontides the name of Andocides, who was notoriously son of Leogoras. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I. p. 270, thinks that the following genealogy may be made out. (1) Leogoras, born *cir.* B.C. 540, an opponent of Pisistratus; married a daughter of Charias (Andoc. I. 106). (2) Andocides, born *cir.* B.C. 500; one of the generals against Samos, B.C. 440; general with Glaucon, Thuc. i. 51. 12; one of the ten πρέσβεις to negotiate the thirty-years' truce, Andoc. III. 6 (reading with Meier πρόπαππος for πάππος). (3) Leogoras, born *cir.* B.C. 470, married a daughter of Tisandros, Ar. *Vesp.* 1269; *Nub.* 109. (4) Andocides, the orator, born *cir.* B.C. 440. See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I. p. 72.

52. 1. αἱ νῆες . . . βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι. St. reads βουλόμεναι, attributing the change to B., who, however, in his Teubner text and annotated editions retains the Mss. reading. v. H. also has the fem. in his edition, referring to his *Studia Thucydidea*, p. 11, for the justification of the change. Cl. thinks the fem. would be admissible if only it had authority. But Cobet aptly remarks: quod ferri posset si de Phaeacum navibus ageretur. *Cf.* Hom. θ 559, ἀλλ' αὐταὶ ἴσασι νοήματα καὶ φρένας ἀνδρῶν. See App. on c. 49. 16.

53. 10. τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν. By way of obviating the necessity of assuming such an aposiopesis as is suggested

in the note, Kr. omits μέν, Cobet omits τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον and reads ὅσοι, with verbs in pl. But the explanation of B. and Sh. seems adequate and simpler. The position of τὸ μέν shows that there is no antithesis between Corcyraeans and Athenians, but the latter are considered as members of the Corcyraean navy. "That part of the Corcyraean force that was within hearing cried out . . . but the section which was formed by the Athenians said . . ." An exact parallel is found in vii. 13. 7, where τῶν ναυτῶν includes οἱ θεράποντες and οἱ ξένοι as well as sailors.

54. 18. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Kr. brackets these words, leaving thereby the next clause, οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον κτέ. without conj. Cobet, *V. L.* p. 431, proposes various corrections in this chapter: he inserts ὡς before κρατήσαντες in 10 and before τριάκοντα in 14; and brackets ὡς νενικηκότες in 8, ἔστησαν τροπαῖον in 13, ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς in 17, and διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν in 19.

57. 18. μετ' ἄλλων δύο στρατηγοῦντος. All Mss. read δέκα for δύο. This number, however, would give eleven στρατηγοί here, and with the five mentioned in c. 61. 5, sixteen in all in this year, though the regular number was only ten. Kr. therefore conjectures that we should read τεσσάρων here, supposing that δ', = 4, may have been mistaken for the first letter of δέκα, and that thus we shall have the ten generals of the year accounted for. But G. Hermann, Philol. 1, p. 369, remarks that in c. 64. 9, Phormio is also mentioned as a στρατηγός of this year; and as this addition would make the whole number eleven, he supposes that δ may have stood for δύο. This is preferred by Cl., who remarks that three στρατηγοί for 30 ships and 1,000 hoplites corresponds very well with the five in c. 61 for 40 ships and 2,000 hoplites. G. Gilbert also, *Innere Geschichte Athens*, p. 42, prefers δύο. St., B., v. H., and Cobet, *V. L.* p. 431, read τεσσάρων.

58. 4. ἔπρασσον is found in all Mss. The verb has been often used in these chapters; but its employment here only confuses the careful structure of the period; in which the partic. πέμψαντες μέν and ἐλθόντες δέ are followed respectively by the two parallel clauses depending on ἐπειδή (ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων . . . ἔπλεον and τὰ τέλη . . . ἐσβαλεῖν), and the result of the whole is introduced by τότε δή. ἔπρασσον is bracketed by Bekk. and all recent editors except Sh. B. notes also that elsewhere Thuc. uses only aor. subjv. or fut. indic., not opt., after πράσσειν ὅπως.

58. 6. αἱ νῆες ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν κτέ. Most Mss. and editions insert αἱ before ἐπί. The single art. is preferred by Cl. and St., because, though the Athenians had decided upon an expedition against Macedonia, c. 57. 16, its purpose was modified *before it was actually despatched*, so as to include operations against Potidaea; and therefore the fleet could not be described as αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, but must have the double designation.

61. 3. ἐπιναριόντας. This is the correction of Ullrich, *Beitr. zur Kr.* III. p. 1, for the Mss. ἐπιναρόντας, adopted also by St., v. H., and B. The compound ἐπιναρεῖναι has no good warrant. In Xen. *An.* iii. 4. 30; vi. 3. 19, ἐπιναριόντες

is now read, and so ἐπιπαρῆσαν might be in iii. 4. 23. Besides, παρεληλυθώς in 11 seems to imply such a preceding expression of advance as ἐπιπαριόντας gives here. *Cf.* iv. 108. 17; v. 10. 37.

61. 12. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Στρέψαν. All Mss. read ἐπιστρέψαντες, for which St., B., P., Sh., v. H. have with Cl. adopted the conjecture of Pluygers (Cobet, *N. L.* p. 382), ἐπὶ Στρέψαν, which, as Sh. points out, was made independently by Donaldson. But even if we assume that this is the right reading, it is still hard to understand why the Athenian force, which found it necessary to leave Macedonia in order to hasten to Potidaea (ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν κτέ., 10) should go out of its way to make an excursion as far as Beroea in the interior of Macedonia, which they are at the same time said to leave (ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας). This difficulty is so great that Grote, V. c. 47, p. 334, supposes there may have been another Beroea, of which we have no further knowledge, on the line of march from Pydna to Potidaea; and Cl. thinks that Βέροιαν may be a mistake of the copyist for Θέρμην. This whole question is discussed at great length by Müller-Strübing, Jahrbb. 127, p. 600. He shows that nothing is really known of the position of Strepsa; and that therefore the supposition of Cl., that it may have been a meeting point of the roads connecting Thrace and Macedonia which the Athenians thought it desirable to secure before proceeding to Potidaea, cannot be regarded as assigning a valid reason for the *détour* of the Athenians from their direct line of march. Müller-Strübing accepts Classen's conjecture, Θέρμην, and thinks that he has discovered the name which should take the place of Στρέψαν in the list of towns which Hdt. vii. 123 gives as προσεχεῖς τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρέουσαι τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. This list contains the name Κάμψα as lying north of Gigonus, and its inhabitants appear as Σκαψαῖοι in the Athenian tribute lists. In his view accordingly the Athenians left Pydna, marched by land through the territory of their allied city Methone to Therma, at the head of the gulf, which had been recently taken by their own forces (7); and then on their southward march towards Potidaea made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy Scapsa, which may have joined Potidaea in its defection; and so reached Gigonus easily on the third day. Müller-Strübing shows also that Bergk's conjecture, Βρέαν for Βέροιαν, which has been accepted by St. and v. H., is wholly inappropriate, if, as Bergk believes, the words of Plut. *Per.* 11, εἰς δὲ Θρᾴκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας κληρούχους [ἔστειλεν], refer to the colony of Brea.

62. 3. πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ. This reading of most Mss. has been rejected for πρὸς Ὀλύνθου, *on the side of Olynthus*, though supported by only one Ms., by Kr., Arn., P., B., St., v. H. Cl. argues that in any case Aristeus must have placed his force on the side of Olynthus, *i.e.* towards the north of Potidaea, and also that the words in 4, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο imply that it was not intended that the troops should get their supplies from Potidaea. But it is probable that no more is meant by this than that it was regarded as important that the men should not be compelled to go within the

walls for their daily supplies, and thus give opportunity for a sudden assault. *Cf.* vii. 37. § 2. Cl. thinks also that the doubt which Aristeus is said, c. 63. 2, to feel as to the question whether he should make his way to Olynthus or to Potidaea implies that he was near the former. The words **πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ** do not, he considers, involve such a close proximity as to prevent Aristeus from placing his main force on the actual isthmus, *i.e.* on the road to Potidaea, while the Chalcidian allies and the cavalry of Perdiccas were stationed at Olynthus itself, **ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν**, 12, which words imply that at least this part of the force had actually already proceeded so far. The use of **πρός** with gen. in a local sense occurs, acc. to Cl., in Thuc. only in iii. 21. 3; iv. 31. 5; 100. 15; 130. 2; while **πρός** with *dat.* is common in reference to military position, *cf.* c. 105. 19; 116. 7; ii. 79. 11; 94. 19; iv. 130. 24; v. 65. 25. These reasons hardly seem convincing; and there is more weight than Cl. is disposed to allow in the objection of St. Jahrbb. 1863, p. 410, that the words **πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ**, 3 and 10, involve a contradiction in terms. If, says St., Potidaea was on the isthmus, Olynthus, which was 60 stades off, could not be so also. Cl., indeed, maintains that Potidaea and Olynthus being so near, the two expressions, **πρὸς Ὀλύνθου** and **πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ**, might with equal propriety be used of a position **ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ**. But a glance at the map will not confirm this remark.

In his *Studia Thucydidea*, p. 12, v. H. after Cobet conjectures **ἐστρατοπέδευντο** for the impf. in conformity with **ἐπεποίηντο** and **ἤρηντο** in 4, 5, for "loci sententia postulat 'incastris erant.'" But he has not introduced the change into his text.

62. 9. **τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι.** Various emendations have been proposed. The simplest is Madvig's (*Advv.* I. p. 307), who rejects **ἔχοντι**. This makes **τὸ μὲν . . . στρατόπεδον** the subj. of **ἐπιτηρεῖν**, and puts it into proper contrast with **Χαλκιδέας δὲ κτέ**. But the gloss remains unexplained, and the use of **ἑαυτοῦ** for **αὐτοῦ**. Reifferscheid (*Bresl. Univ.-Progr.* 1876, p. 5) proposes: **τῷ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**, *to keep watch on the Athenians with his own part of the troops that were encamped on the isthmus.* **στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι** then refers to **ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ** in 3. Against this it may be urged that **τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ** is so briefly expressed as to seem strange, and that **στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι** is unusual.

63. 3. **ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν.** v. H. brackets these words as an "inutile additamentum, in quo duplex ἤ prodit falsarium." There does not seem to be any good warrant for this combination in prose. Kühn. 587, 19.

64. 1. **τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ [τεῖχος]**. In bracketing **τεῖχος** in this place, Cl. has been followed by St. and v. H. His reasons are: (1) that, as in 2 the south side of Potidaea is denoted by **τὸ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην**, so here we need simply **τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ**; (2) that **τεῖχος** cannot mean the wall of the city itself; (3) that it would be very unusual to apply the words **τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος**, which assume the existence of the wall, to the line of circumvallation

now to be constructed. Moreover we have in iii. 51. 13 ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου; and φρουρεῖν is found without any expressed obj. in c. 103. 15; ii. 80. 22; 83. 7; iii. 90. 11. Below, however, in 13, he finds the addition of τεῖχος unobjectionable.

67. 10. τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο. This is the reading of the best Mss. including the Vat. Bekk., with inferior Mss., inserts τε after ξυμμάχων. In this passage the Lacedaemonians complete what the Corinthians began (παρεκάλουν, 3; προσπαρακαλέσαντες, 9); and, as in c. 68. 10, by ξύμμαχοι are meant all the ἔνσπονδοι. τῶν ξυμμάχων depends on εἴ τις, and ἄλλο τι, though included under the general notion of σπονδὰς λελυκέναι καὶ ἀδικεῖν, has reference to a different class of charges from those alleged by the Corinthians and the Aeginetans.

68. 8. ὡς ἕνεκα κτέ. Here some good Mss. have ἕνεκεν, which St. adopts. But since in every other passage, except in vi. 2. 34, where a special reason is assigned, Thuc. has ἕνεκα, it seems best to admit it here also, particularly since Thomas Magister, p. 151, 4, ed. Ritschl, says expressly Θουκυδίδης ἀεὶ ἕνεκα. The Inscriptions show much irregularity in the form of the word (Wecklein, *Curae Epigraphicae*, p. 36), but it is not necessary to assume the same for Thuc.

69. 11. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες κτέ. Cl. holds to his interpretation, if the traditional text is kept. But, recognizing that his proposed pronominal use of the art. is extremely doubtful in Thuc., he suggests a slight change, and conjectures οἵ γε δρῶντες, to be taken in close connexion with ἀμυνούμεθα. The antec. of the rel. would thus be τούτους understood, obj. of ἀμυνούμεθα. He suspects, however, the genuineness of the whole sent., οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες . . . ἐπέρχονται, which may have been the marginal reflexion of some reader, and finds a reason for this in the fact that οὐ μέλλοντες applied to the Athenians hardly agrees with the mode of cautious procedure immediately alleged of them. If the words are omitted, καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα κτέ. would attach to ἀμυνούμεθα very fitly as proof of the urgent necessity of immediate defence. Rauchenstein (Philol. 1878, p. 62) proposes to read ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, referring to 4.

70. 7. ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν. The Mss. all have ὅ, and this is retained by all editors except Cl., who reads the pl. on the ground that there is no reason to be seen why the pl. should occur in 26 which is not equally valid here; and ἃ might easily have been changed to ὅ by a copyist who fancied that ἔργῳ was the antec. Conversely in c. 78. 8 Cl. reads ὃ χρὴν ὕστερον δρᾶν, where Mss. and editors (except v. H.) read ἃ, believing that the plur. is due to a false relation to τῶν ἔργων before, whereby the proper usage of δρᾶν (see on c. 5. 11) is violated, and the fact that the whole preceding clause is the antec. is lost sight of.

72. 14. εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύῃ. This reading is exhibited by the Vat., and some other good Mss., while others vary between the indic. and opt. The indic. is read by Kr., Sh., v. H., St., B., and P., while Bekk. has the opt. Cl. considers that the use of εἰ with subjv., which occurs often in Hom. and several times in

the tragedians (Kühn. 398, note 2 d), is not to be denied to Thuc., particularly as the Mss. give εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις in vi. 21. 5, which is retained there by St. and B. and Bekk.; and he thinks that in this place the extreme vagueness in the condition which he conceives to be suggested by εἰ with the subjv. is highly appropriate. It seems, however, very questionable whether we should admit such an irregularity when the Mss. vary, whatever may be judged proper when their testimony is unanimous.

78. 13. εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλόμενα. The Mss. all give προβαλλομένους. This is explained by Kr. as pass. agreeing with ὑμῖν understood: "an offence to you who are taunted with our boasts"; and he compares the use of ἐπιτιμῶμαι in Isocr. XII. 149, and of ἀπειλοῦμαι in Xen. *Symp.* 4. 31. St., Jahrbb. 1863, p. 411, Bonitz, and Herbst accept this interpretation. But Cl. objects that where προβάλλεσθαι is used pass. by Thuc. (v. 16. 19; vi. 92. 19), the thing and not the person is subj. P. explains as if it were simply act., agreeing with ἡμῖν understood, nobis semper proferentibus; and with this B. agrees. Cl. finds this use of mid. for act. so arbitrary that he introduces προβαλλόμενα, followed herein by v. H. But the Mss. reading may be defended if we interpret the mid. to mean *thrusting forward as our defence* against the imputation of arrogance, unwarranted usurpation, *etc.* This is suggested by Grossmann, Jahrbb. 121, p. 520, and seems to be the view of St. also, who renders, "'bringing forward,' perhaps with the accessory notion of '*enshielding* ourselves under.'"

74. 5. νεῶς μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν. Hdt., VIII. 48, 82, gives the total number of the Greek fleet as 380 exclusive of 5 penteconters; Aesch., *Pers.* 339, gives 310; Dem., XVIII. 238, gives 300, but, XIV. 29, acc. to the best Ms., he gives 200. The Athenian contingent, acc. to Hdt., was 180, or, with the 20 furnished to the Chalcidians (VIII. 1), 200. Dem. states it in the former passage to have been 200, in the latter 100. In our passage, since the authority of Aesch., who himself took part in the battle, is paramount, St. and P. read τριακοσίας with inferior Mss.; v. H. and Cobet follow Dobree in bracketing ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας; and Grote, V. c. 41, p. 459, assuming that Thuc. in mentioning 400 merely gives a round number for the precise one of Hdt., follows Göller and Didot in explaining τῶν δύο μοιρῶν as *two out of four hundreds* (τετρακοσίας = τέσσαρας ἑκατοντάδας). But no authority is cited to warrant such an interpretation. It is probable that the numbers are given in each case in reference to the account of Hdt., and that the orator allows himself a slight exaggeration of the contingent of the Athenians as well as of the number of the whole. τῶν before δύο is wanting in the best Mss., but seems indispensable to the expression of the definite fraction $\frac{2}{3}$. *Cf.* c. 10. 9; 104. 9; ii. 10. 6.

80. 18. τούτου ἐλλείπομεν. τούτῳ, *in this*, is read against the Mss. by Kr., St., v. H., and Cobet, who refers to v. 97. 1, δικαιώματι ἐλλείπειν, and vi. 69. 7, προθυμίᾳ ἐλλιπεῖς ἦσαν. The passages, however, referred to in the note, ii. 61. 20; Plat. *Phaedr.* 269 d, as well as others that might be cited, as Dem. XVIII.

302 (Kühn. 417, 2), show sufficiently that ἐλλείπειν with gen. need not, as Kr. says, imply a total lack, and that therefore τούτου may very well be allowed to stand here.

84. 18. τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 323 ff., discusses this passage, 13–19, at great length. He makes the infs. ἐπεξιέναι and νομίζειν depend on ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, which words, co-ord. with παιδευόμενοι, he regards as forming the ground on which the Lacedaemonians are said to be εὔβουλοι. In connexion with the words quoted above he explains: "we are wise enough to know that the decrees of fate do not admit of being divided by word and assigned to this person or that." To establish this meaning of the verbal he refers to ii. 78. 4; iii. 114. 2; iv. 11. 10; 69. 10; v. 75. 22; 114. 3; vii. 19. 6. The last of these is, κατὰ πόλεις διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον, and all are of exactly similar meaning, and all mid., though he with an inaccuracy quite uncommon with him, refers to them as exhibiting the common meaning of διαιρεῖν in Thuc. Reference, however, to ii. 75. 24; 76. 2; iv. 48. 10; 110. 18; 111. 8; v. 2. 14; 3. 9 (κατὰ τὸ διῃρημένον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους) shows that the act. means *separate, lay apart;* and that the words in question must be understood with Forberg and Sintenis to mean, that the decrees of fate do not admit before their realization of being laid apart, opened out, defined, by word or argument. This accords also nearly with the explanation of Poppo, fortunae casus non explicari oratione distincte posse. διαιρεῖν occurs in a similar sense in Dem. XXIII. 44, XLV. 45, referred to by St. The connexion, moreover, which Herbst sees between εὔβουλοι and ξυνετοί with the following infs. dependent on it is exceedingly objectionable. Since we must supply γιγνόμεθα with εὔβουλοι, the attrib. ξυνετοί, implying a highly cultivated intelligence and insight (Introd. p. 33), would hardly be applied to persons who were in the process of becoming εὔβουλοι. Since also ξυνετοί has its sphere defined by τὰ ἀχρεῖα, it is not natural to attach to it also the two following inf. clauses. On the other hand παιδευόμενοι, which expresses the natural way of attaining εὐβουλία, fitly controls all the following particulars, expressed with the variety Thuc. is so fond of, the two advs. ἀμαθέστερον and σωφρονέστερον, each of which has its own peculiar definition, and the two infs. ἐπεξιέναι and νομίζειν. μή is to be taken with ἐπεξιέναι, as showing the negative effect of the Spartan παιδεία, and τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες falls naturally into its place as subord. to τὰς τῶν πολεμίων . . . μεμφόμενοι.

84. 24. ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις. Bonitz understands these words to mean the bare amount of training which is absolutely indispensable, opp. to τὰ ἀχρεῖα, which the Athenians took pains to acquire. Herbst, Philol. 16, p. 338, explains them of the Spartan mode of life, which contented itself with the barest necessaries; referring to i. 90. 21; v. 8. 10; vi. 37. 17; vii. 69. 21; 82. 10, to illustrate the use of ἀναγκαῖος to express what is absolutely indispensable. This no doubt is included in the meaning here; but it is probably right to understand the expression of all those points in the Spartan system

which had a tendency to reduce to submission the self-will of the individual citizen. *Cf.* Soph. *Aj.* 485, **τῆς ἀναγκαίας τύχης | οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν μεῖζον ἀνθρώποις κακόν.**

80–85. The speech of Archidamus. Junghahn in Jahrbb. 111, p. 668 ff. and 681 endeavors to show various infelicities and inconsistencies in this speech. He has been amply answered by Sörgel, Jahrbb. 117, p. 347–353. The whole speech is designed to give an emphatic warning against hurrying into war. A mere invasion and devastation of Attica would lead to no result, since the Athenians with their wealth, their mastery of the sea, and their foreign possessions could easily supply themselves from elsewhere with what they needed. If on the contrary the Lacedaemonians waited a few years and devoted themselves to the increase of their naval power and money (c. 82. 5; 83. 5), threats of an invasion would have much greater effect. This warning is founded in c. 81 on two reasons: (1) that the Athenians will readily find compensation for the devastation of Attica; (2) that the Lacedaemonians, if they begin the war, cannot with honour leave it off until they are successful; and they will probably leave it as a legacy to the next generation. Archidamus's advice, however, to delay a declaration of war is shown in c. 82 to rest on the hope that in this way war may be avoided altogether. When the Athenians see that their rivals are becoming more formidable they will be more likely to listen to reason; and the longer their country remains unravaged, the more valuable will it become as a hostage for the maintenance of peace. In c. 83, 84 it is shown that the course recommended is in full accordance with those principles which lie at the basis of Sparta's power and dignity. In these chapters the conservative character of a Spartan statesman is exhibited in as clear a manner as that of the Athenian democracy is portrayed in the three great speeches of Pericles.

Though the discreet moderation of Archidamus was overborne by the passion of his opponents, he showed the same Spartan self-control in himself taking the command of an enterprise which he disapproved. Yet in the address he makes to his subordinates, ii. 11, while he encourages them to maintain their old reputation, he expresses again the same warning against over-hasty advance and insists on the absolute necessity of discipline and obedience to orders and of not undervaluing their antagonists.

89. 8. **οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας . . . ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἑπολιόρκουν.** v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Hermes, 12, p. 338, finds it hard to understand how the Hellespontine and Ionic Greeks can be represented as members of the Hellenic league as early as the siege of Sestos, and regards it also as "a grammatical necessity" to bracket the word **ξύμμαχοι.** If it is the position of **ἀφεστηκότες** which is an offence, the examples cited on c. 11. 19 will show that Thuc. did not find it so. Even if **ξύμμαχοι** were removed, it must still be understood, since **οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου** are plainly opp. to **τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους** of 7. Kirchhoff's distinction between allies actual and allies formal is quite satisfactory.

90. 20. ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν ἄρωσιν. The Mss. have αἴρωσιν, which Bekk. changed to the aor. In this he has been followed by all recent editors except Sh. who defends the pres. in a long note of which the following is the chief part. "The *pres.* after ἕως ἄν in the sense of 'until' (not 'while') is not without examples, though I believe not in quite the same sense as the aor. It must first be noticed that whereas *we* have now a marked distinction between *while* and *until*, the Greeks and Latins had the same words ἕως, ἕστε, μέχρι or μέχριπερ, dum, donec, the tenses following alone fixing the meaning of the particles.... *While* means *time*, and may mean *during time* or *time finished*. *Until* excludes *during time*. So ἕως ἄν, ἕστ' ἄν, μέχρι ἄν, with an *aor.* conjunctive, could not mean *while*, yet with a *pres.* may mean *until*, *i.e.* not the *concluded* but the *incipient* act.... I quote Ar. *Vesp.* 1441, ὕβρις' ἕως ἂν τὴν δίκην ἄρχων καλῇ (*till he is calling, begins to call*). The metre eschews καλέσῃ. This passage is noticed by Herm. on Eur. *Med.* p. 355, who quotes Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 3. 18, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἕως ἂν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται, translating, neque expectamus dum nostram regionem vastare incipiant. Add Xen. *Cyr.* v. 4. 38, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπισχήσω ἕως ἂν φῇς καλῶς ἔχειν (*till you are ready to say*).... The wall, till it is completed, still αἴρεται (*cf.* c. 91. 4, τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει), "till we *are raising* our wall to the barest possible height to fight from." The pres. αἴρωσι, then, would mean "until they find that they are getting the wall to the proper height," or ἕως ἂν ὦσιν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἰρόμενον. See Gildersleeve on ἕως, Am. J. of Ph. IV. p. 417.

91. 7. ἀναγγελοῦσι. Most Mss. have ἀπαγγελοῦσι. But the rarer form of the text is here to be preferred. It has good Ms. warrant and is not likely to have been introduced by mistake. The meaning *report back* is very suitable here, as in iv. 122. 5.

91. 18. εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, προσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς ὡς προδιαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν [ἰέναι] τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. Cl. has here adopted the reading of the Vat. Ms. ὡς προδιαγιγνώσκοντας for ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας, and has placed the comma before προσβεύεσθαι instead of after παρὰ σφᾶς, and has bracketed ἰέναι. In these changes he has been followed by St. and v. H. We see from ii. 12. 9, ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὅρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν, τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἢν τι βούλωνται, πρεσβεύεσθαι, that the simple εἴ τι βούλονται is more effective without an inf. *Cf.* v. 66. 15. As soon as the true relation of πρεσβεύεσθαι as the representative of the imv. was lost sight of, and it was made to depend on βούλονται, the insertion of such a verb as ἰέναι was unavoidable. Kr. brackets πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς.

91. 26. καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους. Steup (Rhein. Mus. 1872, p. 179 f.) rejects the relation of ἰδίᾳ and ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους here affirmed, and makes ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις and ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους the parallel elements that limit ὠφελιμώτερον. ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους thus becomes equiv. to τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, a usage without parallel. ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους in the

necessary sense of *as regarded the allies* calls for a parallel element referring to the Athenians, and this is found in ἰδίᾳ. This interpretation accords well with the following words, οὐ γὰρ . . . βουλεύεσθαι. The restored walls of Athens would not only effect her own security against foreign aggression, but would also assure her greater respect among the allies. For the views of a state whose position was not independently secure could never be of equal weight or worth. The emphasis attaching to ἰδίᾳ, in consequence of its position, renders a following τε unnecessary, and no reasonable objection can be made to the repetition of the idea of ἄμεινον εἶναι in ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι, which was intentional.

94. 7. ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. As one Ms. omits the δέ after ἤδη in c. 95. 1, Kr. has followed the suggestion of Stephanus and Duker in connecting these words with c. 95. This Dobree also approves. But Cl. and St. remark that the asyndeton would be very singular; and B. points to c. 128. 17, Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ, as indicating that in this passage ἐξεπολιόρκησαν should not be separated from ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ.

95. 16. τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρός τινα ἀδικημάτων ἠθύνθη. Cl. understands τινα as neut. pl. = *certain matters*, but is inclined to prefer τινας, which v. H. has adopted after Cobet, = *certain individuals*. B. thinks that the sing. τινα may be taken in the same sense, and that this change to the pl. is not necessary. For this, see on c. 69. 17 and *cf.* ii. 37. 2, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τινὶ ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. Ar. *Ran.* 628, ἀγορεύω τινὶ | ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'. Hdt. v. 49. 46, τῶν πέρι καί τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν.

96. § 2. In Hermes, 11, p. 1–38, Kirchhoff has shown that, so far as can be gathered from the existing Tribute-lists, the annual contribution of the Athenian allies to the treasury of the Delian league cannot have amounted to 460 talents at any time before the battle of Eurymedon, B.C. 466. It is plain, however, that c. 96 is so directly connected with the following chapters that any unprejudiced reader must conclude that the φόρος of 460 talents is here represented as being paid before the events recorded in c. 98–117, beginning with the capture of Eion, B.C. 476. The same view must have been taken by those writers who attribute to Aristides the assessment of the quota to be paid by each state, which was recognized by all as just, and which amounted to 460 talents, Diod. xi. 47. 1 (where πεντακοσίων is an evident mistake for τετρακοσίων); Plut. *Arist.* 24. 4; Nepos, *Arist.* 3. 1, whose common source was probably Ephorus. Kirchhoff is of the opinion that Ephorus's mistake was caused by this passage of Thuc.; and he can see no other way of defending Thuc. from the charge of carelessness in his narrative or of writing without full information than the assumption that the episode in c. 97–117 was an addition made by Thuc. after the end of the war, and inserted by him where it is as an extension of his original plan. But this assumption cannot be accepted by those who with Cl. believe that the first book in its traditional form was composed with the whole course of the war in view. And a late insertion of the Pentecontaetia is the less credible from the fact that it con-

tains the account of the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ which was announced in c. 23. 23, after the exhibition of the ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι (c. 24–87), and in effect repeated in c. 88, ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα. Nor is it to be believed that, had the writer decided to make such an addition to his original plan, he would not have taken pains to bring it into harmony with the adjacent parts of his work.

But this whole section bears marks of being an interpolation. It consists of a series of notices which are indeed of importance for readers at a period remote from the events, but which Thuc. would hardly have written for the information of his contemporaries. An explanation of the word φόρος, with the use of which every Athenian must have been familiar from the Tribute-lists, and of the office of the Ἑλληνοταμίαι, which was maintained to the end of the war (Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* p. 241), could not have occurred to Thuc. as matters to be inserted in his history. The mention also of Delos as the place where the meetings of the league were held and the treasures kept, would surely not have been made by Thuc. without notice of the subsequent transference of both to Athens. Of this same character is the statement of the amount of the πρῶτος φόρος ταχθείς. It seems probable, therefore, that the whole of this section is the work of some reader whose information, if not wholly erroneous, was at least imperfect and inaccurate. If it is left out of the text, c. 97. 1, ἡγούμενοι δὲ κτέ., is seen to be in excellent connexion with c. 96. § 1, which sums up the occasion of the beginning of the Attic hegemony, with the purpose and general organization of the league, and is naturally succeeded by a comprehensive glance at the momentous results of the assumption of the command by the Athenians.

The brevity with which the historian expresses himself would have given an attentive reader sufficient occasion for adding explanatory comment. He may have added the statements about the Hellenotamiae and φόρος in explanation of the words ἔταξαν . . . καὶ ἃς ναῦς; those about the ταμιεῖον and ξύνοδοι at Delos to ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων. According to this view, the statement that the πρῶτος φόρος ταχθείς was 460 talents is an error of the same sort as is found in Diodorus and the other writers who depended upon Ephorus. How the common error arose is a matter that still needs explanation.

98. 1. In assigning the dates to the events in the πεντηκονταετία, Cl. followed the authority of Kr., who in his *Historisch-philologische Studien*, I. 1837, examined the chronology with great care. Kr.'s system, however, did not, as Cl. admits, remain unassailed. Not only was the chronology of the period subjected to an elaborate investigation independently by W. Pierson, Philol. 28, p. 40–69 and 193–220; but Kr.'s own results were minutely examined by A. Schäfer, in his *Disputatio de rerum post bellum Persicum usque ad tricennale foedus in Graecia gestarum temporibus*, 1865. This treatise of Schäfer's was in

its turn assailed by Kr. in the second part of his *Kritische Analecten*, 1867. Cl. confesses that the tone and temper of this last paper leave very much to be desired; but "as an editor of Thucydides" he finds himself compelled to give his adhesion to Kr.'s views. In particular he accepts the inference drawn by Kr. from c. 97. 12, where it is said that Hellanicus βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνους οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη the affairs of this period, viz., that we may assume from this that Thuc. would not allow himself to be open to the same charge, and that he did not, therefore, in any case, set down a single statement out of its exact chronological place. It is on the basis of this assumption that Kr. in c. 103. 1 changed δεκάτῳ of all Mss. into τετάρτῳ, supposing that the numerical sign for 4 (δ′) was mistaken by the copyist for δ = δέκα. Unless such a change is made in this passage, it will have to be admitted that Thuc. recorded the end of the third Messenian war, though later in time, in advance of several events which are recorded later, though they happened earlier. In Jahrbb. 87, p. 406, St. expressed his approval of Kr.'s conjecture; but in his own edition of 1873 he retains the Ms. reading. See also Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.* II. p. 443, 661. In c. 109. 4 the mission of Megabazus to Sparta is assumed by Kr. himself to have occurred a year earlier than the events recorded before it; but in this case he excuses the violation of exact order (*ibid.* p. 202) on the ground that, since the mission was a failure, it was for Thuc. no "Begebenheit."

Another point referred to by Schäfer, *ibid.* p. 19, is that in c. 89. 12 the capture of Sestos in the spring of B.C. 478 is spoken of; but in 14 ff. we have the account of what took place at Athens immediately after the battle of Plataea. This objection Kr. meets by saying (Kr. *An.* p. 6) that this chapter forms no part of the ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου (c. 97. 8), and does not, therefore, come under the strict rules that Kr. supposes Thuc. to have imposed upon himself in regard to its chronology.

In truth, however, the most that can be inferred from Thuc.'s rebuke of Hellanicus is that he pledges himself to accuracy in his chronology. But it is surely no imputation on an historian's claim to be chronologically accurate, if, after narrating certain facts about a war, when he sees that he will have no more to say about it, and therefore wishes to get it out of his way, he concludes his narrative by saying, as Thuc. does in this case according to the Mss. reading, 'this war came to an end in its tenth year,' if it did, as a matter of fact, last for ten years; and for this we have also the testimony of Diod., xi. 64. 4, who says also in c. 84. 8 that the fall of Ithome took place κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον with the expedition of Tolmides, recorded by Thuc. in i. 108. § 5, and dated by Kr. in 456.

A more extended consideration of this interesting and important question is not here possible. See further Am. Jour. of Philol. VII. p. .

For the sake of comparison, the dates of the most important events from the end of the Persian invasion to the Thirty Years' Truce are added in the following table as given respectively by Classen (Cl.), — who follows Krüger,

— Pierson (P.), Schäfer (S.), Curtius (C.), — in the fourth German edition of his History, — and in this edition (M.).

	Cl.	P.	S.	C.	M.
Building of City Walls (c. 90. § 3–93. § 1)	478	479–8	478	478	479–8
Capture of Sestos (c. 89. § 2)	478	478	478	478	478
Fortification of the Peiraeus (c. 93. § 3–7)	477	478–7	477	478	478
Athenian Hegemony (c. 95. § 1, 2, 4; 96. § 1)	476	476	476	476	476
Capture of Eïon (c. 98. § 1)	475	475	469	470	476
Siege of Naxos (c. 98. § 4) / Flight of Themistocles to Asia (c. 137. § 2)	473–2	465	466	467	466
Battle at the Eurymedon (c. 100. § 1)	469	465	465	465	466
Revolt of Thasos (c. 100. § 2)	467	464	465	464	465
Beginning of Third Messenian War (c. 101. § 2)	466	463	464	464	464
Reduction of Thasos (c. 101. § 3)	464	462	462	462	463
Athenians at Lacedaemon (c. 102. § 1–3)	463	461	461	461	461
Fall of Ithome (c. 103. § 1–3)	462	454	455	456	455
Revolt of Inaros (c. 104. § 1, 2)	460	464	460	460	460
Athenian attempts on Halieis, *etc.* (c. 105. § 1–6)	460	460	460	458	460
Battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta (c. 108. § 1–3)	458	459	457-6	457-6	457
Reduction of Aegina (c. 108. § 4)	457	459	456	456	456
Defeat of Athenians in Egypt (c. 109. § 1–4)	455	458	454	456	454
Athenian Expedition to Thessaly (c. 111. § 1)	454	457	454	454	454
March against Sicyon and Oeniadae (c. 111. § 2, 3)	454	456	454	454	454
Five Years' Truce (c. 112. § 1)	451	453	451	451	451
Cimon dies at Cyprus (c. 112. § 2, 3)	449	449	449	449	449
Sacred War in Phocis (c. 112. § 5)	448	448	448	448	448
Battle of Coronea (c. 113. § 2)	446	447	447–6	447	446
Revolt of Euboea and Megara (c. 114. § 1)	446	446	446	446	445
Thirty Years' Truce (c. 115. § 1)	445	445	446	445	445

100. 16. **ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων.** The account of Diod. (xi. 70), who must have had the present passage before him, reads: **μέχρι μέν τινος ἐκράτουν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντων εἰς Θρᾴκην, συνέβη πάντας τοὺς εἰσβαλόντας εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἠδωνῶν καλουμένων διαφθαρῆναι.** This supports P.'s proposal to read **ξύμπαντες** instead of **ξυμπάντων**, adopted also by B. and v. H., and evidently the reading of Valla's text. But the accounts of Diod. and Thuc. do not tally in other respects. Diod.'s definite statement **ὑπὸ τῶν Ἠδωνῶν καλουμένων** is clearly an addition. **ξύμπαντες**, moreover, would be superfluous. It seems better, therefore, to retain **ξυμπάντων**, in close connexion with the following rel. sent., **οἷς πολέμιον**

. . . κτιζόμενον, in the appropriate sense: "after the Athenians had wrested from the *Edonians* the coast-district about the later Amphipolis, their further progress into the interior (beyond the Edonian territory) was opposed by *all* the Thracian tribes *together* to whom the occupation of the coast by the Athenians was dangerous." Not all the widely separated Thracian tribes, of course, can be meant; but it is natural to suppose that all those that were similarly imperilled joined the Edonians, who were the first to be attacked. *Cf.* also iv. 77. § 2.

112. 6. Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος. Herbst (*Geg. Cobet*, p. 37 ff.) makes the distinction that the act. μεταπέμπειν always means "summon, cause to come," without fetching the person or object oneself; the mid., "fetch oneself," or "have fetched." But (1) the distinction is destroyed by giving to the mid. the force "have (cause to be) fetched," in which the idea "fetch oneself" disappears. (2) In the majority of cases it cannot be determined whether after the summons the fetching actually takes place or not. How can we distinguish, for instance, between μεταπεμψαμένου βασιλέως in viii. 37. 18, and Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμψαντος here? (3) It is impossible to see how the form of the mid., which expresses only in a more definite way the idea of employment for the purposes of the subject, can intimate a further activity on the part of the subject. Kr., further, rightly observes that only Thuc. and Aristophanes use the act., and that, therefore, a real distinction of meaning, the necessity for which would have continued, probably did not exist.

112. 12. καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν [αἱ] ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. P., Kr., and B., keeping the vulgate, all agree in understanding ἀπεχώρησαν with πάλιν, and are obliged, therefore, to make αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν refer to the common voyage from Athens. Haase (*Lucubr.* p. 55, 56) objects to this explanation, and proposes αἱ πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι. But then αἱ πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι simply repeats the idea of αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. It is certainly natural to refer πάλιν to the return from Egypt, and μετ' αὐτῶν to the common voyage home. Why should the common outward voyage be mentioned a second time? Thuc. doubtless wrote αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι, acc. to his practice, explained at c. 11. 19, of placing the attrib. partic. after the noun when an adv. modifier precedes. The position of μετ' αὐτῶν connects it with ἀπεχώρησαν. πάλιν ἐλθεῖν occurs also in ii. 73. 8; iii. 23. 8; v. 66. 4.

Herbst (Philol. 1866, p. 619 ff.) agrees substantially with the interpretation of P., Kr., and B. St. (Jahrbb. 1868, p. 179) omits the second αἱ and construes αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι, urging that this is the *most natural* interpretation.

113. 6. καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες: these words, inserted in some Mss., are probably introduced by a mistaken copying of c. 98. § 1, 2. The Athenians might resort to this severe measure in distant parts, as Eion and Scyros (c. 98; v. 3; 32) on the Thracian coast, or Sicily (vi. 62), or under the influence of party passions in Lesbos (iii. 36) or Melos (v. 116); but we can hardly imagine its occurring in the heart of Greece. Besides, the words φυλακὴν

καταστήσαντες imply the continued existence of the place with its old inhabitants. See, however, Ullrich, *Kr. Beitr.* III. p. 9.

114. This chap. gives a striking example of the way in which Thuc. narrates a series of occurrences which start from different points but come into relation with one another. He does not exhibit this relation by means of a periodic structure of the sent., but simply narrates the facts in the order of their occurrence, sometimes expressly marking this. Here the description of each of the two series of events, those threatening Athens, and her counter-preparations, is pushed forward independently, so that the accounts cross one another. It is better, therefore, to insert a comma in place of the period after Μεγαρῆς in 8, by which ἐκόμιζε is almost parenthetically subordinated to ἀπέστησαν: "the revolt of the Megarians occurred after the calling out of the allies, but Pericles immediately (ὡς ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ) sent back the troops from Euboea." μετὰ τοῦτο then refers only to the revolt of Megara. The bald way in which the irruption and the retreat of the Lacedaemonians is narrated seems to hint that the withdrawal was occasioned by other means than force of arms.

114. 15. ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο. An instructive example of the Athenian mode of dealing with the subjugated districts in Euboea, here briefly mentioned, is preserved in an inscription found on the 19th of June, 1876, on the southern declivity of the Acropolis. This contains, in the form of a decree of the popular assembly at Athens, the terms made with the *Chalcidians* after the subjugation of Euboea. It was published first by Kumanudes, in Ἀθηναῖον, 1876, p. 76, then by Egger in the Journal des Savants, 1876, p. 448 ff., and by U. Köhler in the Mittheilungen d. deutschen archaeol. Instituts in Athen, 1876, p. 184 ff. See also Hicks, *Inscr.* No. 28. The inscription refers without doubt to the occurrences of the year 445 B.C. here related. Köhler has fully discussed its individual provisions, and recognizes in these one more proof that the policy of Athens during the administration of Pericles was a moderate one, and that it aimed to bring her rule over merely nominal allies within just and legal forms (p. 197).

120. 27. ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει. So with Reiske, instead of ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει. For (1) the explanatory expansion of the thought that immediately follows, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας . . . ἐλλείπομεν, marks the difference between plan and execution in precisely the same manner as ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει, μετ' ἀσφαλείας and μετὰ δέους indicating the two stages of 'confidence.' *Cf.* the similar thought in c. 140. 3, οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ κτέ. (2) τῇ πίστει standing alone would be brought into mistaken contrast with ἔργῳ (see note). (3) Without the pred. ὁμοίᾳ, there would be no reason for the art. with πίστει.

124. 3. εἴπερ . . . εἶναι. St. (Jahrbb. 1863, p. 462 f.) agrees with the view expressed in the notes, and defends it (*ibid.* 1868, p. 179) against P. But he correctly observes that the order of words in the explanatory sent. is unusual, and proposes to read, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταὐτὰ ξυμφέροντα εἶναι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις. If a change must be made, we should perhaps write εἴπερ βεβαιό-

τατον καὶ πόλεσι καλλιδιώταις τὸ ταὐτὰ ξυμφέροντα εἶναι. St. notes that Thuc. frequently makes a comparison between political and personal relations by means of the phrase καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται, as in c. 82. 24; 144. 20; iii. 10. 3; 82. 15.

126. 19. ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ . . . ἐπιχώρια. St. (Jahrbb. 1863, p. 407) shared Cl.'s and Kr.'s doubts as to the genuineness of the vulgate here, and thought that the passage should be omitted. But in his edition of 1873 he has kept it, and has adopted, on C. F. Hermann's conjecture (Philol. 1847, p. 3), πολλά for πολλοί, and on the basis of the notice in Poll. i. 26, — Θουκυδίδης δ' αὐτὰ (τὰ ἀράμματα)· εἴρηκεν ἀγνὰ θύματα πρὸς τὰ αἱμάσσοντα καὶ σφαττόμενα, — has inserted ἀγνά before θύματα. Cl., with A. Mommsen and Schoemann (*Griech. Alt.* II. p. 481), is still doubtful, and calls attention to the fact that C. F. Hermann (*l.c.*) would prefer πλήν to πολλά.

182. 18. τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τότ' ἐδόκει εἶναι. The reading of the Mss., καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι, would necessarily point to a second subj. in contrast to τοῦτο. But καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει shows that the point of contrast is one of time, the subj. of παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο being the same as that of ἐδόκει, viz. his arrogant inscribing of his own name on the tripod. καὶ τότ' ἐδόκει puts the thought in its proper light: "the act was considered even at that time an offence on the part of Pausanias (although the corpus delicti was removed); and now when he stood in this position (had come under such strong suspicion of treasonable intentions), it became still more evident that it had been done quite in the spirit of his present plans." (The same conjecture was made by Struve, in Seebode's *Krit. Bibl.* 2, 9, 772. B.'s suggestion that καὶ τοῦτο, in the sense of *this also*, points to ἐπυνθάνετο δὲ καί in 21, is not convincing.) On ἐδόκει and ἐφαίνετο, as marking the *successive steps* in the judgment against Pausanias, see St., Jahrbb. 1868, p. 771.

186. 13. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κῶσκα πάσχειν. Kr. and B. consider the position of ἐκείνου in the sense of ἢ ἐκεῖνος before ἀσθενεστέρου so inadmissible that they propose ἀσθενέστερος (against all the Mss.). But Cl. argues (1) that the comparison of the power of the exiled and defenceless Themistocles with that of the king Admetus is inappropriate; and (2) that καί, which is evidently placed first with especial emphasis, would be meaningless with ἀσθενέστερος, since nothing would be added in the thought, "for he, (as) a far weaker man, would suffer evil from him." In the traditional text καὶ γὰρ ἄν, he says, gives such emphasis to ἐκείνου that neither its const. nor meaning can be in doubt; and the order of words is not more striking in this instance than generally in the case of gens. placed before the governing word. *Cf.* c. 32. 8; 84. 13; 139. 2. Indeed the position of the gen. of the pron. before the comp. seems to be a favourite one in expressions like πείθου τοῖς σοῦ σοφωτέροις, εἶναι παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ βελτίονι, as also in the phrases οὐδενὸς ἐλάττων, κρείσσων, *etc.* Kr. *Spr.* 47, 27, 3 and 7. See Preibisch, *De comp. usu Thucyd.* p. 21, and App. on viii. 94. 13.

138. 15. εἰκαστής· καὶ ἃ μὲν κτέ. Kr., following Valla, proposes to strike out καί and the colon, and connect all that follows closely with the preceding. But what follows is essentially different. Themistocles has just been praised for the clearness of his judgment regarding matters present and future; now the historian dwells upon his practical efficiency in dealing with things near or remote. It is as easy to understand ἦν with γνώμων and εἰκαστής as with οἷός τε, which must be done in any case, and γνώμων and εἰκαστής would seem strange in pred. relation to the following sent. The preceding partics., προμαθών and ἐπιμαθών, moreover, make an earlier conclusion of the period desirable. The comma after ἀπήλλακτο (not the colon) brings out more clearly the relation between the three objects of his activity, ἃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι, ὧν ἄπειρος εἴη, and τὸ ἄμεινον . . . ἀφανεῖ.

143. 15. ἦν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κτέ. Kr. explains τε as the connective, as in similar cases which he has cited in his *Dion. Hist.* p. 268. But in that case a new element would appear, and the ἄλλα μεγάλα just mentioned would remain without explanation. The clause ἦν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν κτέ. contains simply the statement of the *most important* advantage possessed by the Athenians over the Peloponnesians, their superiority at sea and their consequent independence of the vicissitudes to which their land possessions are exposed. We must assume, then, either that a second member with καί was originally intended, but never expressed (as explained in the notes), or must omit τ'.

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[The references to the Introduction are by pages; to the Greek text, by chapters and thirds of chapters; to the notes and Appendix, by chapter and line of text annotated: *e.g.*, p. 15, 13 a, and 16. 2 refer respectively to the Introduction, fifteenth page; to the Greek text at the first third of the thirteenth chapter; and to the note on the second line of the sixteenth chapter. The references in the Greek Index are mainly to the Introduction and to the notes.]

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